

# MID-AMERICA

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# MID-AMERICA

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### La Salle, 1669-1673

(Continued)

After having discussed the somber historical status of Pierre Margry as well as his purpose in establishing the fame of La Salle, his correspondence with Parkman, and the first of the false documents, his *Mémoire sur le projet du Sieur de la Salle*, it is time to turn to the second of the documents regarding the movements of La Salle during the few years specified above.

The *Récit d'un ami de l'abbé Galinée* is attributed by Margry to Renaudot,<sup>1</sup> and Parkman accepted the statement of authorship with some diffidence and not without qualms.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, it is a copy, by whom made and at what time made nobody knows, and it is a copy of a document devoid of the same essential information of authorship and time. In publishing it Margry places at its head "Recital of a friend of the Abbé de Galinée." He adds in a note, "and of the Abbé Arnauld. The name of this illustrious Jansenist which will be found in the text should naturally put us on guard against the author of the document, the original of which is found in a collection of papers all hostile to the Jesuits."<sup>3</sup> This admitted hostility, together with the data found in the second part pertaining to La Salle's discovery of the Ohio and his priority in the discovery of the Mississippi, was undoubtedly reason sufficient for Margry to fit it into the pattern he was weaving. It is clear, however, that the author had the relation of the Sulpician before him when he wrote, just as it is clear that respect for the truth was least among his concerns. Incidents that happened before the departure of the expedition of 1669 as narrated by Galinée are so disfigured in the Recital that no one will be accused of maligning its author

<sup>1</sup> Margry, I, 345.

<sup>2</sup> *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 95, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Margry, I, 346.

in asserting that he was determined to be inaccurate, or, in plainer English, that he willfully lied.

The *Récit* is composed from ten or twelve supposed conversations which the friend of Galinée had had with La Salle when the explorer was in Paris.<sup>4</sup> Most of the aforementioned conferences, the author continues, took place in the presence of "friends of mine, all very intelligent gentlemen, most of whom having an excellent memory." He explains that he wrote these conversations on the spot (*sur-le-champ*), taking especial care to set down those details which one is most likely to forget, such as dates and names.<sup>5</sup> This meticulous and almost stenographic care appears to have been taken in vain, since the author informs his readers after a few pages, that he does not remember names, and finds it more convenient to omit dates. Such a method of presenting facts may be classified as a variant of the *sine ira et studio* type of historical writing. Rhetorical writers addicted to the method of making childish assertions of impartiality as preludes to unhistorical statements should surely leave no historian off guard as to their veraciousness, yet this and similar rhetoric has deceived many.<sup>6</sup> After the account was written, it was communicated to the other very intelligent hearers endowed with excellent memories, and these separately asserted that they well remembered how all this had been said by La Salle.

The document is divided into two parts. The first portion is merely a rehash of some Jansenistic lampoon, abounding in spite and breathing hatred.<sup>7</sup> The author, carried away at times by his

<sup>4</sup> That La Salle was interviewed by various persons while in Paris at this time is clear from the document published in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 1937, 167-177, and from Margry, II, 236.

<sup>5</sup> Margry, I, 345-346.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hennepin's assertion: "I here protest to you before God, that my narrative is faithful and sincere and that you may believe everything related in it." *Nouvelle Découverte*, Amsterdam, 1698, *Avis au lecteur*. Yet, the "narrative of which he speaks is a rare monument of brazen mendacity," Parkman, *La Salle*, 123.

<sup>7</sup> Why Parkman should have devoted to this a whole chapter, VII in his *La Salle*, is not easy to understand. Closing the chapter, he wrote: "Here ends this remarkable memoir, which, criticise it as we may, does not exaggerate the jealousies and enmities that beset the path of the discoverer." The difficulties referred to by Parkman were mainly the outcome of La Salle's character, who, to say the least, was a paranoiac, according to Marc de Villiers, *L'expédition de Cavalier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique*, Paris, 1931, 178; he saw "enemies" lurking behind every tree in the wilderness. "La Salle was not the victim of the 'envious' not even of his numerous adversaries, but simply of his disorderly imagination," De Villiers, *ibid.*, 143. La Salle was "un peu frappé," as people who observed him in Rochefort remarked, Margry, II, 445. He attributed nearly all his reverses and misfortunes to his "enemies," Jesuits mostly and their crea-



rigoristic zeal, almost forgets that La Salle is supposed to be making the remarks, but he catches himself and hastens to drag in the explorer. We are not concerned with the contents of the first part, except for one short passage. "He (La Salle) is 33 or 34 years old. He has been traveling in North America for the past twelve years." It is presumably on the strength of this statement that the document is dated 1678; for the author, like Bernou, must see to it that La Salle is dispatched to Canada in 1666, in order to allow the explorer time to make trips to the north, which he never made, and to learn all of the Indian languages he was supposed to have mastered by 1669. "And the journeys he made," continues the narrator, "comprise the territory between the 330° and the 268° of longitude, the 55° and the 36° of latitude."<sup>9</sup> La Salle's facilities for taking longitude were woefully inadequate, it is true, but he knew better than to give such impossible coordinates. The 330th degree crossed the western part of the Newfoundland Bank, a few hundred miles out in the Atlantic. This longitude is also the line of demarcation agreed upon by Spain and Portugal in the discussion as to what was meant by the Treaty of Tordesillas. As will be seen, all sorts of fantastic geographical data, picked up at random by the author of this document, will be inserted in this narrative supposed to be La Salle's. The 268th degree on maps of this period<sup>9</sup> ran through the western part of Kansas. The 55th parallel crosses Labrador and the 36th is the latitude where Joliet had said that the Ohio emptied into the Mississippi. La Salle, Bernou, and Renaudot had indeed the narrative of Joliet and his maps, as well as Marquette's relations.<sup>10</sup>

tures. The phobia of seeing the hand of "enemies" everywhere, except for its chronic and acute stage, was not peculiar to La Salle; it was common to the whole officialdom in New France, as will appear to any one who reads the official correspondence. The authorities in Paris listened for years to this enemy phobia, without once telling those who thus complained to examine their own conduct for causes of misfortunes. It was only after the French régime had ended that General Johnstone gave the answer that should have been given long before that time. He wrote to Montberaut from Mobile: "I am sorry you have so many enemies, and you are likely to have so many enemies for the time to come unless God shall work a change which is not likely to happen at your time of life." *AE, Mém. et Doc., Amérique*, 11:216.

<sup>9</sup> Margry, I, 347.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Louis Karpinski, *Bibliography of Printed Maps of Michigan (1804-1880)*, Lansing, Michigan, 1931, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Margry, II, 81, 95, 137, 166, 170, 179, 245. "You should have written the dissertation of M. de la Salle against Father Marquette and against M. Thévenot; at least you ought to have him annotate the relation of said R. N." Bernou to Renaudot, Margry, II, 74. G. J. Garrahan, "Some Newly

The second part of the *Récit*, entitled *Histoire de M. de la Salle*, begins with saying that La Salle left France when 21 or 22 years old. La Salle was nearly 24 when he went to Canada. The unbelievable manner in which the text of Galinée is tampered with needs not be treated here.

After having separated from the Sulpicians, we are told:

Meanwhile M. de la Salle continued his way on a river which goes from east to west and passes to Onontague (Onondaga), then to six or seven leagues below Lac Erie, and having reached the 280° or 283° of longitude and as far as the 41° of latitude, found a cataract which falls westward in a low marshy country, all covered with old stumps, some of which are still standing. He was forced to land, and following a ridge which might have led him far, he found some Indians, who told him that very far from there, this same river which lost itself in this low and vast country, united again in a single bed. He accordingly continued his way; but, as the hardship was great, 23 or 24 men whom he had conducted to that point, all left him in one night, regained the river and escaped, some to New Netherland, the others to New England. He then beheld himself alone four hundred leagues from his home, to which nevertheless he succeeded in returning ascending the river, and living by hunting, on herbs and what the Indians whom he met on the way gave him.<sup>11</sup>

If Bernou's account of La Salle's discovery and exploration of the Ohio in 1669-1670 is fanciful, this one, attributed to Renaudot, is so absolutely fantastic as to be absurd. Worthless as it is, it was made outstandingly so when used by subsequent writers, under the lead of Margry.<sup>12</sup> Every detail of this geo-

Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IV, 1935, 279, note 38, says: "Bernou's attitude towards the (Jesuit) order is indicated in his letter of April 18, 1684, asking Renaudot to return 'his notes against Marquette.'" Father Garraghan bases this statement on the entry in Leland's *Guide*, 99, which is misleading. The notes are not Bernou's but La Salle's, and from the text, it does not necessarily follow that these notes are adverse, although when Bernou's request is compared with the quotation given above from his letter printed in Margry, we may be quite sure of the type of "notes" Bernou expected from La Salle. The passage reads: "Vous m'obligerez infiniment de m'envoyer par le 1<sup>er</sup> courrier extraord<sup>re</sup> ses (that is, La Salle's) notes in *Marquetam* quand elles seront faites. Il seroit bien necessaire aussi de luy en faire sur ma relation, vous me l'aviez promis mais vous ne m'en parlez plus." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:118 v.

<sup>11</sup> Margry, I, 377-378.

<sup>12</sup> When Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle*, 22, tells us that the contents of this document are "à peu près intelligible," he merely repeats what Parkman, *La Salle*, 22, had said, that the statements of the *Récit* "are in some measure intelligible." Chesnel, *Histoire de Cavelier de la Salle*, 37, states that "le fond du récit est vrai." This author does not hold the desertion en masse; there is one at least who did not abandon La Salle, "ce fut l'esclave Chaouanon, le fidèle Nica." Charles E. Slocum, in his article, "Sieur de la Salle," in the *Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications*, XII, 1903, 107-113, says that "a very liberal translation of this excerpt (of the *Récit*) is necessary to make it intelligible." The translation is so very lib-

graphical romance is as imaginary as the old stumps of trees.

The Sulpicians had left La Salle on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, on the upper reaches of the Grand River, in the vicinity of the present Hamilton, Canada. The account under discussion was designed to bring him to the Ohio River whose headwaters were, if we take the Allegheny branch, to the southward. But the account transports La Salle suddenly eastward from Hamilton to a river rising east of Onondaga, in the Syracuse region, and then flowing westward 20 miles below Lake Erie, and transports him without further difficulty, even in mid-winter, to a waterfall hundreds of miles away. Thus La Salle, supposedly in quest of the Ohio, according to the *Récit*, which he reputedly gave to the friend of the Abbé de Galinée, proceeded to travel 250 miles away from the river he was seeking. Yet Gravier, using as a basis for his contention that La Salle went to the Ohio this same *Récit*, states that the explorer "made straight for it."

As has been observed, if La Salle went to Onondaga, "there was no possible passage by water in the direction of the waters of the Allegheny. All the waters between these two points flow either north into Lake Ontario or south into the Susquehanna or Delaware. No rivers or streams of any kind suitable for canoe navigation run east and west between these two points, and the entire distance is over the highlands of New York which divide the waters of the north from the waters of the South."<sup>13</sup>

The lack of geographical data noted previously in Bernou's account is more than compensated for in the *Récit*. The wealth of coordinates, however, appear somewhat strange when we remember that La Salle, who is supposed to have given all these details, could not compute the longitude, for Galinée had taken the instruments along with him, and that only trained astronomers, which La Salle emphatically was not, were able to determine the longitude in those days.<sup>14</sup>

It is apparent that the author of the *Récit* had Hennepin's map of 1683 before him. On this map the 280° is very prominent, it is the meridian of Fort Crevecoeur, which is on that same map on the 39th degree of latitude. Two degrees higher, on the same meridian, give a point north of the Madison-Milwaukee parallel;

eral that it enables him to identify the rivers spoken of as the Maumee and the Wabash.

<sup>13</sup> E. L. Taylor, "La Salle's Route down the Ohio," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications*, XIX, 1910, 385.

<sup>14</sup> There is an error of 13 degrees in the longitude given by La Salle in Margry, II, 180.

if the longitude 283 and the latitude 41 are combined, the coordinates give a point somewhere on the *east* shore of Lake Michigan, all these places being far away from the Ohio.

La Salle's partisans cannot claim that the standard meridian is that of Ferro Island, as used after the experiments of Cassini, for the results of the observations of astronomers were only embodied in the maps of the cartographers at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Even granting such an anachronism, the coordinates would not bring La Salle near the Ohio, but to central Iowa in 1669-1670.

It may be recalled that this account is but another version of that of Bernou, according to which La Salle reached the 37th degree; according to the present one, he reached the 41st degree.

The waterfall spoken of by the Iroquois Indians in Galinée's account is again met with, but old stumps are now added to it for good measure. Another detail, introduced it seems to inspire confidence, is the number of La Salle's men deserting during this expedition. Twenty-one men had left Montreal in July, 1669. Galinée points out that none of the nine men hired to accompany Dollier and himself was willing to abandon the missionaries. The La Salle party, when it left the Sulpicians, numbered twelve men; some of these returned to Montreal. Perrot met him with five or six Frenchmen on the Ottawa River the following summer. Yet we are told that twenty-three or twenty-four men abandoned La Salle, deserting to New England and New Netherland from beyond the Louisville rapids.

The sources from which the author of this geographical romance culled his data are easily ascertained. The name of Onondaga was known in France since Champlain's time and is found in Galinée's account. The southernmost latitude of the *Récit* is that of Jolliet's account. The longitude 330 degrees was a byword in Europe during the seventeenth century. In his letter of September, 1679, ten years after this supposed desertion en masse on the banks of the Ohio, La Salle speaks of twenty men<sup>15</sup> deserting to New Netherland,<sup>16</sup> and in his letter of 1682, August 22, he specifies that twenty-two men abandoned him.<sup>17</sup> As the author of this "curious monument" did not know these details until the early part of 1683, we may safely assume that this

<sup>15</sup> Margry, II, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Margry, II, 68, 70, 103.

<sup>17</sup> Margry, II, 225.



"remarkable paper" is posterior to this date.<sup>18</sup> Again, for the last detail, La Salle, in his interview with the naturalist Docard in 1678, is reported as having said: "They (the Indians) travel through trackless woods and without star or magnetic needle they seldom lose their way though they make journeys of 500 leagues. They go by the rising and setting sun. Frenchmen who have lived among them for a considerable time imitate them in this respect; and Mr. de la Salle has returned alone after having been deserted by the men who were with him at a place more than 350 leagues distant from his habitation."<sup>19</sup>

The evidence brought forward by Margry to show that La Salle discovered and explored the Ohio in 1669-1670, namely the account of Bernou and that attributed to Renaudot, is wholly fictitious. It seems unnecessary to discuss other documents allegedly proving the discovery of the Ohio at this time, such as Patoulet's letter of November 11, 1669. In this letter the official in Quebec said that Messrs. La Salle and Dollier, accompanied by twelve men, had set out to discover a passage which they expected to find communicating with Japan and China,<sup>20</sup> as if such text were evidence that La Salle discovered the Ohio,<sup>21</sup> and as if all this were not already known from Galinée's account. Nobody ever denied that La Salle went to discover a passage to China, but that he went down, or even near the Ohio in 1669-1670 is pure fiction resting on worthless evidence.

Another proof is also adduced, namely, the cartographical as distinguished from the documentary evidence, supposedly upholding the contention that La Salle discovered the Ohio. This cartographical proof consists in two sets of seventeenth century manuscript maps which will now be examined.

There were in New France in the latter part of the seventeenth century two outstanding cartographers whose maps are preserved in the Archives of Paris where they were sent, J. B. L. Franquelin and Louis Jolliet. Gabriel Marcel noted that biographical data on Franquelin were extremely scarce.<sup>22</sup> The two

<sup>18</sup> Bernou wrote to Renaudot, February 1, 1684: "You would render me a signal service if you could oblige him (La Salle) to write and send me a relation of his discoveries, beginning with his departure in canoe from Fort Frontenac after the defeat of his deserters." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89.

<sup>19</sup> *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 1937, 174.

<sup>20</sup> Margry, I, 81. The twelve men are those hired by La Salle.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indians, A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood*, Chicago and New York, 1919, I, 100.

<sup>22</sup> G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrissee*, Paris, 1885, 13.

memoirs quoted by this continuator of Harrissee contain little about Franquelin himself, but there are several other memoirs in which this excellent cartographer outlined his own career.<sup>23</sup> Franquelin was born in France in 1653 and came to Canada with the intention of becoming a merchant in 1670 or 1671. In 1674, being the only one in Canada who knew how to make maps, he says in a memoir to Seignelay,<sup>24</sup> that he was employed by Frontenac and Duchesneau in that capacity. For the next nineteen years, the succeeding governors and intendants of New France commissioned him to draw the maps found today in the various dépôts of the French Archives. In 1683, he married a widow, Elisabeth Aubert.<sup>25</sup> Until 1686, Franquelin's work for the government was not paid for, and it is only from that year on, when he was appointed Royal Hydrographer, that he began to draw a salary of 400 livres a year.<sup>26</sup> All the while he had been drawing new maps or completing former ones as the knowledge of the geography of the continent progressed consequent upon further explorations by the French toward the West and the South.<sup>27</sup>

In 1687, he asked to be given the place of Villeneuve,<sup>28</sup> the engineer of the colony, as well as the pay attached to his position.<sup>29</sup> He made several journeys to France, notably in 1684<sup>30</sup> and in 1688. Although sent by the officials of Canada to bring to the mother country the maps he had drawn in the interval he had to pay his own expenses.<sup>31</sup> In the last journey, he brought the map of 1687.<sup>32</sup>

Franquelin was again in France in 1692. "Seeing that he could

<sup>23</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:278-294.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>25</sup> C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, Montreal, 1871-1890, IV, 102.

<sup>26</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:159 v.

<sup>27</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:285.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. AC, C 11A, 9:10 v., and E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, IX, 289. One of his maps is in SHA, 127-6-4.

<sup>29</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:10 v.

<sup>30</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:294 v. While in France at this time he was assigned as draughtsman to La Salle, Margry, II, 426-427, 437.

<sup>31</sup> Denonville and Champigny sent Franquelin to the Ottawa country in 1688 to make a map of that region. In lieu of pay, he was given a trade permit, but was forbidden to sell brandy in the Upper Country, BN, Clairambault, 879:280. Franquelin did not make this journey, but went to France instead.

<sup>32</sup> De Chabaud to de Lancet, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 2610:44 v., the passage from this letter pertaining to Franquelin is in Marcel, *Cartographie*, 14. The map dedicated to Seignelay, is in SHB, B 4040-6, it is the neat draft of that in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères.



not support his family in Canada," he says in his autobiographical memoir of 1694, "having spent all his money in the service of the King, in the hope that his services would earn him some reward, he resolved, last year, to call his family to France, with the intention of settling his wife and children on a small property he owned in Touraine. Alone, he would be able to subsist in Canada and to continue his services. But to top his misfortunes, he just learned that the boat on which his wife and children had embarked with their poor belongings had shipwrecked,<sup>33</sup> and now he found himself bereft of all that he held dear in this world."<sup>34</sup> He asked the Minister for the means to pay the debts he contracted during the last fifteen months he had been in France and to be given free passage to Canada, where he intended to make other maps, and to teach drawing in Quebec during the winter and piloting during the summer. But Franquelin did not return,<sup>35</sup> he remained in France and the place of Royal Hydrographer was given, in 1697, to his friend Jolliet.<sup>36</sup>

The Canadian besides being an explorer was also a cartographer, although his draughtsmanship is inferior to that of Franquelin. Jolliet's first map, made shortly after his return from the Mississippi, 1674, was sent by Frontenac to Colbert.<sup>37</sup> Others followed, such as that of Hudson Bay, in 1679,<sup>38</sup> and that of the Gulf and River of the St. Lawrence, in 1685.<sup>39</sup> On the strength of this cartographical work<sup>40</sup> Jolliet succeeded Fran-

<sup>33</sup> The *Corossol*, AC, C 11A, 12:350 v.

<sup>34</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:294-295. Two of his children and his wife lost their lives, the two youngest seem to have remained in Canada; cf. Tanguay, IV, 102.

<sup>35</sup> AC, C 11A, 13:22 v.-23.

<sup>36</sup> E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississippi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Île d'Anticosti*, Quebec, 1902, 234. Franquelin made use of Jolliet's maps and memoirs for some of his maps. Thus Denonville wrote to the Minister, November 13, 1685: "J'ay faict designer par le Sieur Franquelin l'ouvrage du Sieur Joliet qui est homme assez applique et qui me paroist avoir for etudie le bas de notre fleuve," in *Collection de Manuscripts, contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger*, Quebec, 1884, I, 346. Cf. Harris, *Notes*, 166 and SHA, 126-1-3. Franquelin also redrew Jolliet's map of the discovery of the Mississippi, SHB, B 4040-11.

<sup>37</sup> AC, C 11A, 4:82.

<sup>38</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:281 v.; A. L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada . . .*, Paris, 1893, n. 23; Marcel, *Cartographie*, 23; id., *Catalogue des documents géographiques exposés à la Section des Cartes et Plans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1892, 23.

<sup>39</sup> AC, C 11A, 7:117. This letter is printed in Gagnon, 118-119; AC, C 11A, 9:278 v., AC, C 11E, 13:135-36, Marcel, *Cartographie*, 14.

<sup>40</sup> AC, C 11A, 13:324 v.

quelin as Royal Hydrographer in 1697<sup>41</sup> and held this post until his death in 1700.<sup>42</sup> It seems that Franquelin was then reappointed to the post of hydrographer in Canada,<sup>43</sup> but it is not known whether he actually returned to Quebec.

With regard to the maps of Jolliet representing the Mississippi Valley, those which are undoubtedly drawn by the explorer and *which have not been tampered with* certainly do not show that La Salle went down the Ohio. Gravier, analyzing Jolliet's map of 1674, wrote that "the two travellers (Jolliet and Marquette) are satisfied with showing on this map the end of the Ohio, and say not a word of the discovery which was made of the river in 1669 by Cavalier de la Salle. In his later maps, Jolliet with a better knowledge will trace the whole course of this river and will recall the name of this explorer, but Marquette will ignore him until the end."<sup>44</sup>

Jolliet in his later maps did not credit La Salle with a journey the latter never made. The map of Jolliet of 1674, known as the "larger map," has indeed the full length of the Ohio, but this has been interpolated by a later, clumsy hand. C. A. Hanna, who could only judge of this interpolation from the reduced sketch of this map in Winsor, called attention, after Winsor, to this fact. He wrote: "The lines of the latter draughtsman cross both the vignette and the lines indicating the mouth of the River on the original."<sup>45</sup> Margry, while copying the documents in the

<sup>41</sup> Gagnon, 234, 238.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 238, note 1.

<sup>43</sup> Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 18, 1700, AC, C 11A, 18:12 and 31 v., Gagnon, 238, note 1. The date of Franquelin's death is not ascertained. Harisse, *Notes*, 215 and 218, erroneously surmised that Franquelin died before 1695; the letter of Callières and Champigny shows that he was still alive in 1700.

<sup>44</sup> *Etude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par Louis Jolliet, en 1674, après son exploration du Mississipi avec le P. Jacques Marquette en 1673*, Paris, 1880, 40. Gravier adds in note: "Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que dans leurs *Relations* de 1666 à 1672, les PP. Jésuites ne trouvent pas une seule fois l'occasion de citer le nom de Cavalier de la Salle." It would have been much more remarkable if the Jesuits had mentioned La Salle's exploits several years before his arrival in Canada. The earliest possible mention of La Salle in the *Relations* should be that of 1672, after his return to Montreal following the fiasco of the 1669-1670 expedition. This was the year when the Jesuits stopped publishing their *Relations*. Furthermore there was not the slightest reason why the Jesuits should mention the doings of every trader who roamed the woods of the Iroquois country. La Salle broke into the news after his "indecent procedure," in Montreal, Easter, 1674; Parkman, *La Salle*, 95.

<sup>45</sup> *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 212-213. Harisse, *Notes*, 194, n. 203, merely mentions this map; Parkman, *La Salle*, 25, note 1, describes it, but does not call the reader's attention to this disturbing fact.

French Archives, also made tracings of maps,<sup>46</sup> and the same clumsiness of the interpolator is noticeable in his tracing of this map. With the arrival of the photostatic process of reproduction, one is better equipped than were those who studied before the invention. This map is in the Karpinski collection.<sup>47</sup> The interpolation is evident; the handwriting and the ink are clearly different. The draughtsman thought fit to insert five little figures that are supposed to represent Indian huts, and which are only found along this nameless river. The wording of the interpolation *Route du Sieur de la Salle pour Aller dans le Mexique*, gives an approximate date for the tampering. As La Salle did not think of going to Mexico until after 1680, the added legend was written after this date.<sup>48</sup>

The other map on which great store is set as proving La Salle's discovery of the Ohio is known as Parkman n. 3.<sup>49</sup> Parkman emphasized the weight of the data contained therein. He says: "About two years after Galinée made the map mentioned above (the historian had just described the Sulpician's map of 1670), another, indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country by some person whose name does not appear, but who

<sup>46</sup> A volume of maps was to accompany the six volumes of documents, *Smith College Studies*, VIII, 150. This project was not carried out. Margry was not satisfied with having to deal with Congress. He would much have preferred to deal with a publisher who would have accepted with his eyes closed more documents of the kind of the *Récit*. Parkman wrote to him February 7, 1892: "People have asked me more than once if the maps of your *Mémoires et Documents* had been published. I had nothing to answer. Will you kindly give me some information about this?" Letter of Parkman in the Ayer Collection. But Margry had taken the matter in his own hands the previous year. On July 21, 1891, after an interview with Lambert Tree, he wrote to this U. S. Minister to France, that from 1843 to 1851, he had gathered the documents published under the auspices of Congress. The number of volumes was inadequate, he says; the discovery of the West was not treated as it should be; "the text of this section is incomplete, but it is easy to remedy to this, if an English translation of the six volumes is to be made." Meanwhile those interested in the history of the West will find a valuable source of information in the maps of which he had made tracings. He wished Tree to publish those tracings. The American was willing to do this on condition that Margry "had each of the maps authenticated by the present custodian of the Archives" in Paris. Margry agreed, but said that he was then too busy to have this authentication made. He died two years later. His family sold his books, transcripts, and tracings to a bookdealer. The tracings were later bought by Edward E. Ayer, and are now a part of the collection in the Newberry Library.

<sup>47</sup> Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, B 4044-37.

<sup>48</sup> On his tracing of this map, Margry added in a note: "Dans une plus petite (carte)—known as Jolliet's smaller map—mais également de la main de Jolliet on lit *Rivière par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du Lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique*." This map so generously attributed to the Canadian, is not Jolliet's but Bernou's.

<sup>49</sup> Winsor, IV, 215-217.

seems to have been La Salle himself."<sup>50</sup> In passing, it should be said that there is not a single La Salle map known to exist. The explorer drew some maps, but these seem to have disappeared.<sup>51</sup> HARRISSE described what he judged to be a fragment of Parkman n. 3.<sup>52</sup> The authorship of this map and its date are of great importance for the question of La Salle on the Ohio.

In the Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, Paris, there are four maps without title, author, or date. The geographical regions represented are: on the first map, *Lac Ontario ou Frontenac*,<sup>53</sup> on the second map, *Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou Mer Douce des Hurons*,<sup>54</sup> on the third, *Fleuve St. Laurent, Lac Champlain, Nouvelle Angleterre, Nouvelle York*,<sup>55</sup> on the fourth, Lake Superior.<sup>56</sup> HARRISSE, listing these maps, says that they seem to be the work of Jolliet,<sup>57</sup> and M. de la Roncière thinks that they are all by the same author, who might be Jolliet.<sup>58</sup> The

<sup>50</sup> *The Discovery of the Great West*, 406. The quotation is from the fifth edition, Boston, 1871. The corresponding passage from the eleventh edition reads: "Three years or more after Galinée made up the map mentioned above, another indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country was made up by some person whose name does not appear." *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 450. It is evident that Parkman revised his judgment as to the date and the authorship of this map.

<sup>51</sup> Bernou in his letters to Renaudot often refers to maps made by La Salle, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:92; the abbé insisted that a copy be sent to him in Rome, *ibid.*, 98, Margry, III, 74; the explorer even "promised" to send a map to Bernou, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:115; Margry III, 78; but La Salle went away leaving no maps with Renaudot, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:127, 129; instead, when he left Paris in 1684, he took away Renaudot's copies of his relations, *ibid.*, 142, 169; these, however, were returned from La Rochelle, *ibid.*, 171 v. Only one very sketchy map seems to have remained with the Minister, Seignelay, *ibid.*, 245. For other references to La Salle's maps, cf. Margry, II, 301, 355, 429, etc.; the cartouche of Minet's map, SHB, C 4044-4. Margry thought that the map listed in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Ge DD 2987-8782, was a tracing of one of La Salle's maps. La Salle lost most of his papers in the shipwreck of the *Belle*.

<sup>52</sup> *Notes*, 195-197, n. 205.

<sup>53</sup> SHB, B 4044-43, facsimile in Pinart, n. 15.

<sup>54</sup> SHB, B 4044-44, facsimile in Pinart, n. 16. The map in BN, Ge D 8075 is a duplicate, there are a few additions by a different hand referring to changes in the location of Indian villages near Lac Skekouen ou Nipiasing, cf. Marcel, *Cartographie*, 24. The Indian name Karegnondi given to Lake Huron is also found in Sanson's map of 1656. Anticipating what will be said below in the text, this name is a further indication of the sources Bernou made use of. The abbé made an extensive study of Sanson's maps. He wrote to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, to tell Coronelli "not to trust at all the Sanson maps of Hudson Bay and of the other parts of North America for they are worthless," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19; cf. *ibid.*, 55-55 v.

<sup>55</sup> SHB, B 4044-45, facsimile in Pinart, n. 14.

<sup>56</sup> SHB, B 4044-46. The map in BN, Ge D 8078 is a duplicate, in which the words *Lac Supérieur* are added in pencil.

<sup>57</sup> *Notes*, 198, n. 210.

<sup>58</sup> *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France, Bibliothèque de la Marine*, Paris, 1907, 237.



legends of Parkman n. 3, as given in Winsor<sup>59</sup> for Lake Ontario, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior, are exactly the same as those found in the three corresponding maps in the above-mentioned series of the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique. The only difference between the legends as given in Winsor for the course of the St. Lawrence, for New England, and for New York, is that they are less numerous than on the map of the Bibliothèque. The other two great lakes, Erie and Michigan, in Parkman n. 3, are also found in the same series on the Marine Archives with legends identical with those for the three other great lakes.<sup>60</sup> HARRISSE analyzed at great length the map of Lake Michigan, and for some unknown and unaccountable reason, asserts that the author is Jolliet.<sup>61</sup>

The author of the four maps referred to, which represent severally the three northern lakes and the course of the St. Lawrence is Abbé Claude Bernou, and he is the author also of the map of Lake Michigan, as a cursory comparison of the handwriting of the autograph letters of the abbé with the handwriting of the legends of these maps will reveal. The evidence for his authorship of the map of Lake Erie, based on the handwriting alone, is not as conclusive as for the other maps, for the legends are printed in block letters. But Bernou had certain peculiarities of spelling, such as writing the contracted plural article *aux* with an "s," *aus*, instead of with an "x," omitting the reduplication of letters in the body of words where such reduplication is the correct spelling, etc., all of which peculiarities are found in the spelling of the legends of these maps. Moreover, he is also the author of the map known as "Jolliet's smaller map."<sup>62</sup> This is also in the abbé's handwriting. Bernou reduced Jolliet's larger map to a smaller scale, transferred the letter on the left side of the larger map to the foot of the smaller one, and inserted along the Ohio River, the legend: *Riviere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique.*<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 216-217.

<sup>60</sup> SHB, B 4044-48 and 50.

<sup>61</sup> *Notes*, 195-196, n. 205. M. de la Roncière, *Catalogue*, 237, is not as emphatic as HARRISSE; the former has *Oeuvre de Jolliet?*

<sup>62</sup> SHB, B 4044-49, facsimile in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec le texte explicatif*, Paris, 1892, n. 27.

<sup>63</sup> Jolliet's map of 1674 was redrawn by Franquelin and entitled *Carte Gnle de la France Septentrionnale*, SHB, B 4040-11, and dedicated to Colbert by Duchesneau. Several changes were made, notably the name of the Mississippi which is no longer called *Riviere Buade*, but *Riviere de Messisipi*; the letter of Jolliet is not reproduced on this map. What is known

Bernou was indeed very much interested in cartography, and particularly in the cartography of New France. He had been making maps, sketches, and tracings for a long time. He had tracings of most of Jolliet's and Franquelin's maps in his possession. Thus he wrote to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, asking him to give Jolliet's map of 1679 to Coronelli and to urge the Italian cartographer to finish the map of North America "which I helped to make."<sup>54</sup> The accuracy of the map Parkman n. 3 astonished the American in view of the period to which he supposed it belonged. However, the date of this map is not a few years after Galinée's map as Parkman believed, but after 1680, probably toward 1686, more than ten years later than the American thought, and at least five years later than Marcel thought.<sup>55</sup>

The six maps, those namely of the five great lakes and the course of the St. Lawrence, which are thus identified as Bernou's are so strikingly similar to the maps of Franquelin that one would be entitled to draw the conclusion that the abbé's maps are tracings of those of the cartographer. Bernou, however, has relieved us from drawing such a conclusion. Among his papers are found sixteen partial maps, that is, of sections of New France, which are so many parts of Franquelin's map of 1686.<sup>56</sup> He inserted, f° 140, the title and the author of the map on which he made those tracings: *Amerique septentrionale depuis environ 27 jusqu'à 62 degrez de Latitude. Par J. Bapt. Louis franquelin*

as Jolliet's larger map with the arms of Frontenac, SHB, B 4044-37, the map with the interpolation, shows the course of the Mississippi down to the Ohio only. The letter of Jolliet is reproduced but with many changes, additions and omissions, a whole sentence of the letter is written under the Illinois River, and the Mississippi is now called *Riviere Colbert*. There are still further changes in Jolliet's smaller map, that is, Bernou's drawing of the larger map. The abbé evidently copied the letter from Jolliet's larger map, and touched up a few passages. The Wisconsin River is nameless, and the legend under this river in the larger map, *Chemin ou Riviere par lequel le S<sup>r</sup> Jolliet est entré dans la Riviere Colbert qui se descharge dans Mexique*, is omitted by Bernou. On the other hand the interpolated Ohio is linked to a nameless river,—missing in the original of Jolliet and in Franquelin's drawing—supposedly the Maumee, by a portage interpolated in Jolliet's larger map, and naturally copied by Bernou. The abbé, lest the meaning of the dots be overlooked, wrote the word *Portage* on his map. The "stump" of the *Ouabouskiquon* in Jolliet's original map has grown to a full length river in Franquelin's map of 1681, SHB, B 4040-4, where it is labelled *Riviere Ouabouski-Quon ou Oüio ou Belle Riviere*, and rises south of Lake Erie, there is no portage between it and the nameless river—the Maumee—flowing into Lake Erie.

<sup>54</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19.

<sup>55</sup> *Catalogue*, 44.

<sup>56</sup> BN, Clairambault, 1017:133 v.-143. The map on which these tracings were made is in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, and it is a draft of that dated 1687, dedicated to Seignelay, in SHB, B 4040-6.



*geographe du Roy a Quebec 1686*. It is illuminating to note that Bernou at this date, namely in the late 80's or the early 90's when he made these tracings, did not add anything about La Salle going down the Ohio River to Mexico.

There remains only one question about Parkman n. 3: on which map was the tracing given to Parkman by Margry made? In 1870, when preparing his cartographical list, HARRISSE did not find this map in the French Archives.<sup>67</sup> He found only that of Lake Michigan, which he says has exactly the same legends as that geographical section of Parkman n. 3. When he examined the maps of the other lakes HARRISSE failed to realize that their legends were also identical with those of the corresponding sections of Parkman n. 3. The latter is not listed by M. de la Roncière, nor has the present writer found any reference to it in other cartographical lists. Of course, maps do disappear, but knowing Margry's antecedents, a suspicion may well arise that one might be in the presence of some more rigging on his part. This suspicion becomes a conviction when the legends of Parkman n. 3 as found in Winsor are compared with the legends of the maps of the four other lakes, namely, the conviction that the tracing given to Parkman is not a tracing of one map but of the six tracings of Bernou which were attributed to Jolliet. Margry made it appear as if it were one map, giving no date, no title, no author, no provenience, as usual. The proof that this took place is found on the maps themselves. Thus on the map of Lac Ontario there is a pencil note in Margry's handwriting: *Le 4 au dessous*; on the map of Lake Erie: *4 au dessous du 2 et 3*; on the map of Lake Michigan: *5 à côté du 3 entre le 7 et le 4*.

Finally, there are printed maps that show that Bernou revised his judgment about La Salle's descending the Ohio, if he is the author of the interpolation on Jolliet's larger map. It should be recalled here that the abbé knew more about La Salle and his travels than anybody else in France, with the possible exception of Renaudot, that Bernou had La Salle's interests and success very much at heart, and that he had written most of the memoirs presented to the government to forward La Salle's plans for further discoveries.

Mark Vincent Coronelli, the Venetian Conventual friar, was commissioned by Cardinal d'Estrées, in 1680, to construct a huge

<sup>67</sup> *Notes*, 196.

globe of the world, which was later presented by the Cardinal to Louis XIV and is known as the *globe de Marly*.<sup>68</sup> Coronelli was a close friend of Bernou and Renaudot.<sup>69</sup> While preparing his globe he made several sojourns in Paris<sup>70</sup> and had all the information Bernou and Renaudot had about La Salle's travels. Coronelli returned to Italy in 1683, and went to Venice<sup>71</sup> to supervise the printing of his atlas.<sup>72</sup> The map of Louisiana in this work makes no mention of the Ohio. It shows the Mississippi River down to the fortieth parallel. The legend under Lake Erie reads: "*Il lago Erie, é altrimente chiamato Teioch-Rontiong, ò Conty, ò du Chat.*" This peculiar Indian name, Teioch-Rontiong, is also found in Bernou's map of the same lake.<sup>73</sup> With regard to the discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, since this map does not show the course of that river, nothing can be concluded, except that it indicates, besides what is found in the letters of Bernou to Renaudot, whence Coronelli derived his information.<sup>74</sup>

But in Coronelli's larger atlas, published in Venice the following year, the map entitled *America Settentrionale colle nuove scoperte fin all' anno 1688*,<sup>75</sup> the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico, near Matagorda Bay, as is the case with all the maps of the period, those of Franquelin, Minet, and so forth. Below the Illinois River, the Wabash flows directly into the Mississippi;<sup>76</sup> and below the Wabash, at about the same distance as

<sup>68</sup> Louis Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1759, Leland, *Guide*, 42; BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:25, 42; Margry, II, 276.

<sup>69</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7497:19.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, 44 v., 55.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 98 v., 104-104 v., Margry, III, 78, 84.

<sup>72</sup> *Citta, Fortezze, Isole, e Porti Principali dell'Europa*, Venice, 1688.

<sup>73</sup> The table of the inscriptions of the Marly globe, BN, Mss. fr., 13365, has, p. 76: "Les environs du Lac Erie autrement dit *Tehiocrontiong*, ou Conty, et du Chat, a l'extremite du Lac Frontenac ou Ontario et Skansadario, ont este trouves infectez par la nation des Andastogheronons qui a este detruite depuis quelques annees par les anglois a la sollicitation des Iroquois." The Coronelli-Tillemont map of 1688, has *Teiocharontiong*; Marcel, *Cartographie*, 11, lists a map in which one of the legends has: "Lac Erie dit par les Iroquois *Techaronskion*." Lake Erie is called *Techaronskion* in the account of the voyage of Courcelle to the Iroquois country, Margry, I, 172.

<sup>74</sup> Bernou wrote to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, that he wished for a prompt return of Coronelli "to perfect (the map of) America, in which he will make a very honorable mention of M. de la Salle," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89 v., cf. *ibid.*, 92, 98 v.

<sup>75</sup> *Atlante Veneto*, T. I, Venice, 1690.

<sup>76</sup> The Kaskaskia river is probably meant. Nicholas de la Salle, who accompanied his namesake in the 1682 expedition, wrote in a report, dated Toulon, September 3, 1698: "La Riviere Ouabache et la Riviere Oyau ont plus de 400 lieues *chacune* et partout navigables," (Italics inserted) ASH, 67: n. 15.

the latter is from the Illinois River, the mouth of the Ohio is given, but the course of the river eastward is shown by a double dotted line, with the following legend: *R. Ohio o la Belle Riviere, quale secondo la relatione de selvaggi ha la sua origine vicini al Lago di Frontenac.*<sup>17</sup> There is not the slightest indication that La Salle knew of this river, except what he had heard of the Indians more than ten years after the time when he was supposed to have explored the Ohio.

Summing up the data furnished by an analysis of the cartographical evidence examined, there remains not the slightest doubt that the legends of the maps indicating that La Salle descended the Ohio were interpolations on Jolliet's larger map, and that the other mention of La Salle going down the Ohio to Mexico is found on a map which had been held as Jolliet's whereas it is a copy made by Bernou. Parkman n. 3 is a composite map made up by Margry with partial maps whose author is Bernou, and their date should be after 1680. Late in the 80's Bernou no longer inserted the legend on the tracings he made of Franquelin's maps, nor did he give such information to Coronelli. The cartographical evidence then, those legends interpolated in earlier maps, left out in maps drawn later by Bernou, is worthless as documentary proof that La Salle was on the Ohio in 1669-1670.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

(NOTE. There are two remaining articles on La Salle in preparation, one on the discovery of the Mississippi and one on the Peñalosa Expedition. All four of these studies with maps and facsimiles will appear soon in book form. *Editor.*)

<sup>17</sup> The inscription of the Marly globe, BN, Mss. fr., 13365:75, has: "La Riviere Ohio, ou la Belle Riviere, ainsi appelee pour sa beaute, par laquelle les Europeens n'ont pas encore descendu qu'a l'embouchure a 31 degrez 26 minutes dans la Riviere Mississipi, mais par les relations des Sauvages on croit qu'elle a sa source vis-a-vis du lac frontenac, d'ou on se rend par un portage dans la dite Riviere" (*Italics inserted*). Cf. Margry, II, 276; the map of Father Raffeix, *Parties les plus Occidentales du Canada*, BN, Ge D 8042, legend E, sketch in Winsor, IV, 233.

## The Food Supply of Creole Saint Louis

Generally speaking, there were three types of French communities in the Mississippi valley before the founding of Saint Louis: the Canadian, the Illinois, and the Louisianan. The Canadian type of settlement usually began with a fort or trading post, to which the Indians were drawn by the desire to trade. In the Illinois country, missionaries and traders seemed to have followed the Indians, settling at or near the site of semi-permanent Indian villages. The lower Louisiana villages most often originated in planters' settlements, inhabited by the proprietors, their slaves, and, later, by the white professional classes. Although this classification would not hold in every case, it is generally true.

Saint Louis, however, was founded under different conditions than any of the preceding. It was peopled chiefly by those who had lived in other Illinois towns, but was organized originally on a Canadian-type foundation, and governed by Louisiana law. This is explained by the facts that it was founded for commercial purposes, on Spanish soil, and most of its first inhabitants were French of Illinois who were disgruntled with the Peace of Paris (February 10, 1763) which had transferred them to British sovereignty.

As Scharf said, "It is evident . . . that St. Louis represents a compromise series of manners and customs. It partakes of those of Canada, Illinois, and Louisiana, without absolutely representing any of the three."<sup>1</sup>

However, it must be borne in mind that, despite the differentiation implied in the manner of its foundation, Saint Louis had in common with the other settlements of the Illinois country, the country itself. Geographically the settlements of the region were a whole, and that fact conditioned the material life to a great extent.

The factors contributing to its population increase were as follows: its foundation as a post in 1764, the mass migration of disgruntled *habitants* from British soil in the next two decades, an influx of flood refugees from the American bottom in 1785, the encouragement of Anglo-American immigration in an effort

<sup>1</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, 2 v. (Philadelphia, 1883) I, 270-271.



to make Spanish Louisiana self defensive against any enemy (this seems to have reached a peak in the period 1793-1798), the diversion of prosperous southerners into Spanish territory by the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest territory (1787), the great advertisement given the region by the Louisiana purchase, and the rise and prosperity of the fur trade of the Missouri and upper Mississippi valleys.<sup>2</sup>

The most important difference between Saint Louis and the other settlements of the Illinois country was in economic organization. Whereas the others had become chiefly agricultural by 1764, three-fourths of the early population of Saint Louis derived its support from boating and hunting. Its early leaders were true enterprisers as opposed to the consumer-producers of the rest of the area. The most important industry for almost a century after the foundation was the fur trade. That Saint Louis did not raise enough food to support itself was not, as many have implied, an indication of poverty. It was, rather, under its capitalistic system, an indication of prosperity.<sup>3</sup>

As Brackenridge said, "This town was at no time so agricultural as the other villages; being a place of some trade, the chief town of the province, and the residence of a number of mechanics."<sup>4</sup>

The difference in the economic organization of the community can probably be traced back to the difference in the local system of land-tenure. Under French dominion it was not customary to lease or cede land except to gentry or nobility. However the Spanish, under whose dominion the lands of the Saint Louis locality were parceled out, readily granted land to private individuals. This fact is of great importance, for it laid the foundation for private enterprise and for disparities in the distribution of wealth. It differentiated Saint Louis from the other villages of the Illinois Country in that industrialization and commercialization were encouraged, due to the presence of surplus capital for investment purposes. This, in its effects, is sufficiently revealed by the fact that all the settlements had hunters, trappers, and boatmen, but only Saint Louis had fur, transport,

<sup>2</sup> A negative factor in population increase was that there was never a serious Indian war for the Illinois country lying west of the Mississippi.

<sup>3</sup> See John Francis McDermott, "Paincourt and Poverty," *MID-AMERICA*, V (April, 1934), 210-212, for an excellent discussion of the origin of the name "Paincourt" (shortloaf, short-of-bread) and of the prosperity of the early town.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana* (Pittsburgh, 1814), 123.

and mining companies.<sup>5</sup> An exception must be noted in the case of Sainte Genevieve, but even there, although trade and industry were quite active, enterprise differed in that Sainte Genevieve's trade was done by individuals while at Saint Louis it was done by companies, with capital taking the place of personal participation in the affairs of commerce.

Having defined Saint Louis as a commercial community rather than the typical Illinois country agrarian village, the rest of this paper is devoted to the materials of food in Creole Saint Louis. The period covered is from 1764 to approximately 1830.

There were materials for food occurring naturally on the site of Saint Louis. The first settlers found prairie fruits of many kinds, berries of one sort or another, plums, paw-paws, grapes. There were herbs, useful to the French for sauces. There was game in abundance.

The plum mentioned above was especially celebrated. Said Brackenridge:<sup>6</sup>

Amongst the wild fruits of Louisiana, the plum has been celebrated. They are in great abundance.<sup>7</sup> Several species deserve to be transplanted to our gardens; the yellow plum is delicious.

In addition, he said that mulberries were plentiful over the whole area and that wild strawberries grew almost everywhere.

He listed the "pecanne" as chief among the nuts, growing to perfection, especially on the low ground. There were beautiful groves of pecan trees in the American bottom, which, by 1810 or 1811 had been almost destroyed by persons harvesting the nuts.<sup>8</sup> The sugar tree "*acer saccharinus*" was native to the site of Saint Louis.<sup>9</sup>

The early Saint Louisans had wild honey, and bee hunting became a profitable vocation; bees' wax was a staple export all through the Spanish regime.<sup>10</sup>

In the stretch of fertile lowlands on the east bank of the Mississippi, from which much of Saint Louis' provender was

<sup>5</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 271.

<sup>6</sup> Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 62.

<sup>7</sup> "Note by Mr. Bradbury. Amongst the species of plums in Louisiana, and particularly at some distance up the Missouri, there is none more interesting than the prairie plum (*prunus chickasa*) which literally covers tracts of ground, of many acres in extent, and produces fruit so abundantly, as to bend down the earth with its weight." Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 62 n.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>10</sup> Scharf, I, 299.



gathered, the *habitants* found or raised without much effort, chestnuts, strawberries, pecans, melons, rice, grapes, peaches, wheat, and corn.<sup>11</sup>

That forty years of human habitation and commerce did not serve to frighten game away is told by Alliot,<sup>12</sup> who said that the Saint Louisans had "many partridges, various kinds of hares, ducks, and in short, all the other animals that live in the woods. They have good fish and good water game to eat there. The food of the inhabitants is very cheap. St. Louis may be considered one of the best places on the globe."

Of this period Scharf said that game was plentiful about the town as late as 1805. There were prairie hens between the town and Chouteau's pond (a matter of less than a mile from the heart of the forty-year-old village). Rabbits were trapped around what is now 12th and Market streets.<sup>13</sup>

Naturally, in a commercial town where game was so plentiful nearby, professional hunting would be a popular vocation. From the relative values hinted at by Brackenridge when he said game "sold for a mere trifle"<sup>14</sup> and Bradbury's<sup>15</sup> remarks that "with bear, deer, and turkeys, the town of St. Louis is frequently supplied by a tribe of the Shawanee nation of Indians, who live about seventy miles west of that place. They usually charge a quarter of a dollar for a turkey or a quarter of venison," one is inclined to believe that as late as 1810 the supply exceeded the demand.

This abundance of game continued well past the Spanish period. While, by 1828, buffalo and elk had practically been exterminated in the state of Missouri, deer seemingly increased as the Indians retired to the west, and herds of from four to twenty, even near populous villages, were no curiosity. Ponds, lakes, and rivers, all over the state, were "literally covered" in migrant seasons with pelicans, cranes, geese, brant, and ducks of all species. Quail were numerous, as were prairie hens. Two

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 280.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Alliot, *Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana* (1803); translated and edited in J. A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of France, Spain and the United States*, 2 v. (Cleveland, 1911), I, 33-143. Alliot quoted, 139.

<sup>13</sup> Scharf, I, 312.

<sup>14</sup> Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 124.

<sup>15</sup> John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, Including a Description of Upper Louisiana* (1819); reprinted and edited in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, 32 v. (Cleveland, 1904), V. Bradbury quoted, V, 257.

species of grouse were frequently seen, as well as wild pigeons, and turtle doves in some seasons.<sup>16</sup>

This area, even into the 1830's, offered a fine field for hunters. In unsettled parts of the state and in certain settled places, bears were numerous enough for commercial hunting to be profitable. Deer, it is claimed, were almost as numerous as domestic cattle. Wild turkeys there were in plenty. Prairie hens were to be had in especially large flocks in late autumn and early winter; partridges were hunted the year around. Squirrels, ground hogs, woodchucks, and raccoons were abundant.<sup>17</sup>

Flint<sup>18</sup> differs, however, with Alliot's judgment of the ever-present fish. "In all the considerable rivers, fish are abundant. But they are generally large, coarse, and of an inferior quality." So much for natural foodstuffs that required no cultivation.

Among the earliest of foods produced by agriculture were corn (used in the making of bread), potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, and melons. Later they had wheat flour, once mills were established. Meat animals grazed in natural meadows. Peas, beans, cabbages, beets, carrots, game, fish, beef, poultry, eggs, milk, and, to a small extent, butter were the staple articles of diet in Creole Saint Louis for half a century.<sup>19</sup>

Even before milling became a local practice<sup>20</sup> wheat flour was procured in Sainte Genevieve.<sup>21</sup> By 1803, wheat flour had become a staple item of shipment from this port to New Orleans.<sup>22</sup>

Other exports down the river in the Spanish regime were bear grease, meat and oil, salted and dried buffalo tongue, other meats, lard, maple sugar, and corn.<sup>23</sup> This was a legitimate surplus, and is a fair index both as to the commercial nature of the town and to its general prosperity and well-being. Food was plentiful enough to be a feature at festival times. New Year's eve was marked by gifts of such comparative luxuries as cane

<sup>16</sup> Timothy Flint, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States; or, The Mississippi Valley*, 2 v. (Cincinnati, 1828-1832), II, 71-73.

<sup>17</sup> Flint, *op. cit.*, II, 96.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Frederic Louis Billon, *Annals of Saint Louis in Its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886), 84-85.

<sup>20</sup> Shortly after the foundation Joseph Miguel Taillon dammed le Petite Rivière and built a mill. Two years after the mill was in operation Laclede Ligueste bought the property, enlarged the mill, and raised the dam. On his death Auguste Chouteau purchased the establishment (1779) and it has since been known to history as "Chouteau's mill." *Pierre Chouteau Papers*, undated mss. and typewritten copies, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>21</sup> Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, 3 v. (Chicago, 1908), II, 11-12 n.

<sup>22</sup> Alliot, 139.

<sup>23</sup> Houck, II, 255.

sugar, maple sugar, coffee, syrup, eggs, and various liquors were likewise presented.<sup>24</sup>

The mills of the Creoles were for the most part horse-powered. However Motard's mill was driven by the wind and Chouteau's by water from his artificial pond. These were the mills chiefly used in Saint Louis, although some had hand mills, made of two stones, revolving horizontally, with holes in the upper stone to let in the grain. They also used the mortar and pestle, with the mortar sometimes only a hollow stump of very hard wood.<sup>25</sup>

The most remarkable thing about the diet of these French was that it was predominantly vegetarian. As Stoddard said,<sup>26</sup> they largely limited themselves to vegetables and soups. This is almost unique among North American frontiers. Of course the Saint Louis *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* had neither means nor time to conserve or raise vegetables in the wilderness. They lived off the land as they went.<sup>27</sup>

With the coming of the Americans, who were in Saint Louis in numbers by 1804, a number of changes took place in the dietary of Creole Saint Louis. They added to its population daily and the purveying of food was becoming a daily more active business.

There was a professional butcher at least as early as 1805, although he killed no ox until all the cuts had been sold in advance.<sup>28</sup> Grocers were well established by 1808, with both Saint Louis and Sainte Genevieve firms competing for the trade. That communication with the sea-board was usual is shown by advertisements in the *Missouri Gazette* offering salt shad and salt mackerel. "Crackers" were on sale at the same time.<sup>29</sup>

Loaf sugar, lump sugar, and Muscovado sugar, together with such exotic produce as almonds and "Box raisins" were advertised within the year.<sup>30</sup> A Sainte Genevieve firm, advertising in

<sup>24</sup> Wilson Primm, "New Year's Day in the Olden Time of Saint Louis," Ms., 1868, *Saint Louis Papers*, Saint Louis Reminiscences, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> Houck, II, 257-258.

<sup>26</sup> Amos Stoddard, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), 324.

<sup>27</sup> They usually carried meat traps as well as fur traps, and large parties carried hunters who did nothing but provide the group with fresh game. Frequently co-operative hunts were staged with Indians; thus, by reason of superior equipment they gained aboriginal good will as well as food.

<sup>28</sup> Scharf, I, 312.

<sup>29</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, November 30, 1808.

<sup>30</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, September 14, 1809.

Saint Louis, announced that it had "Young Hyson" and "Hyson skin" teas, green coffee, black pepper, as well as many other supplies that must have been novelties on any other frontier.<sup>31</sup>

Brackenridge in 1814 predicted that wheat milling, orchards, cider, and pork packing would immediately become large industries in Saint Louis.<sup>32</sup> He was wrong, but his enthusiasm showed the trend. Milling was becoming important enough to make quarrying a new field for enterprise:

On Bon Homme creek, about fifteen miles from St. Louis, a quarry of stone was opened some time ago, said to equal the French burr. The mill stones produced here are thought by good judges to be of a superior quality.<sup>33</sup>

Live stock by 1814, was a staple trade stuff.<sup>34</sup>

Seeing all this bustle of activity in the supplying of human material needs, Brackenridge ventured more prophecy.<sup>35</sup>

The agriculture of this territory will be very similar to that of Kentucky, except that south of the 35° of latitude, cotton may be grown to advantage, and nearly as high as the Missouri, for home consumption. The soil or climate, of no part of the United States is better adapted to the growth of wheat, rye, barley, and every species of grain. Rice and indigo may be cultivated in many parts of it: and no part of the western country surpasses it for the culture of tobacco, hemp, and flax. Except the fig, orange, and a few other fruits, every species common to the United States is cultivated to advantage. There are no where finer apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums, quinces, grapes, melons, &c.

He was mistaken concerning tobacco, cotton, and some other crops, which have since proved, in the latitudes he mentioned, to be impractical or unprofitable, but his remarks about food-stuffs were correct.

Of what sort were these grocery stores that have been mentioned? Brackenridge described the store of his friend Shewe:<sup>36</sup>

I beheld a little man with a high forehead and bald—the head of a sage, adorned with grizzly locks, standing in his shirt sleeves, meanly half clad, behind a sort of counter, and surrounded with barrels and boxes, and things of all sorts on shelves, in a very dirty shop filled with a commingled smell of fish, molasses, soap and onions.

That the material life of Saint Louis was rapidly losing its

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, January 11, 1809.

<sup>32</sup> Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 157.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, 2d ed. enl. (Philadelphia, 1868), 230.



French complexion is evident from the advertisements of food, condiments, and so forth, that might be regarded as typically American, all through the period from 1808 to 1820. For example, in 1815, Saint Louisans were offered lemon acid, sugar-mint, horehound, and lemon candies.<sup>37</sup> In the same issue, a drug and medicine store advertised tapioca,<sup>38</sup> surely exotic enough to remove Saint Louis from the category of raw frontier villages. Chocolate was offered for sale within the year.<sup>39</sup>

Apparently by 1817 the Illinois country could no longer produce surplus meat enough to supply its towns. Cincinnati at that time was acquiring its temporary name of "Porkopolis" and in the *Missouri Gazette*<sup>40</sup> an advertisement appeared which read:

10,000 Pounds Bacon  
Just received from Cincinnati and  
FOR SALE.

Assorted sugar plums, almonds, Corriander, "Annis," candies of all kinds, the presence of professional caterers who manufactured desserts, pastry, and sugar ornaments on five or six days notice,<sup>41</sup> all these seem sufficient to attest to the fact that Saint Louis was no longer utterly dependent on the frontier for its food. As today, the produce of the whole world was sold in Saint Louis in the decade from 1810 to 1820. The presence of "Huille de noyau," oil of cinnamon, oil of anise, "fine Orange," "Perfect Love," peppermint oil, "Elixir of Garus,"<sup>42</sup> and the like show that this was no isolated frontier community.

However, for fear that he might give the impression that this Saint Louis was as urban as we know it today, the writer adds that the village was still small enough for provisions of a perishable nature to be raised within its limits. Advertisements for "kitchen gardeners" were not at all uncommon during this period.<sup>43</sup>

Flint said that the French of the late 1820's were indifferent farmers.<sup>44</sup> It is obvious that their ancestors in the same place were not. A study of the population growth in the area reveals

<sup>37</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, September 30, 1815.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, October 5, 1816.

<sup>40</sup> October 4, 1817.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, October 20, 1819.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> In this connection it is pertinent to note that many of the garden vegetables sold in St. Louis were raised in Carondelet, then six miles south of the town.

<sup>44</sup> Flint, *op. cit.*, II, 105-106.

that these French had become for the most part *bourgeois* where they had previously been farmers. Hemmed in on all sides by the numerically dominating Anglo-Americans they became the townsmen of the place.

Although game was still plentiful by 1828, animal husbandry was a large industry and of course its produce went to feed Saint Louis. Flint noted large, fine cattle producing good beef, prosperous sheep grazers, and said that swine were raised with especial facility due to the great number of hickory and acorn trees which supplied natural feed.<sup>45</sup>

In 1830 the condition of Missouri in agriculture, according to Flint, was something like this: Wheat and corn were staple. The cultivation of rye, barley, and oats, while not extensive, was successful. Bulbous rooted vegetables were widely cultivated and to great size. Pumpkins, squash, and melons grew "no where in greater abundance." There was, claimed Flint, no better butter than that from buffalo-grass fed cows. Sweet and Irish potatoes were sufficiently successful. Crabapples, paw-paws, persimmons were abundant. Red and yellow prairie plums were to be had in quantity. Pecans, hazel, and hickory nuts were numerous. The wild summer grapes made fairly good raisins. Apples and peaches (not native to the region) were considered good; the former were becoming plentiful in the older settlements. Pears, nectarines, and apricots, although few, prospered. Native mulberries were profusely scattered over the state.<sup>46</sup>

Such, then, are the data of dining in Saint Louis over half a century. From the first settlers, who lived off the country while clearing the land, until the town boasted of such specialists as confectioners and caterers, there is an unbroken line of plenty, with never a "starving time."<sup>47</sup>

One of the most significant conclusions of any such study as this is the revelation that domestic manufactures played no important part in the early history of the town. On Anglo-Ameri-

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<sup>45</sup> Flint, II, 73-74.

<sup>46</sup> Flint, II, 67-71.

<sup>47</sup> At this point a note on the water supply may be in place. There were no wells for several years after the foundation, since the limestone which underlay the village was too close to the surface. Several springs in the neighborhood were used, but the Saint Louisans mainly depended on river water, hauled from the landing in barrels and stored in porous earthen vessels for cooling and settling. Wells were later drilled, but very expensively. Pierre Chouteau, "Domestic Life in Old St. Louis, 1785," Ms., 1898, *St. Louis Reminiscences*, *St. Louis Papers*, Missouri Historical Society.



can frontiers this was rarely true.<sup>48</sup> Another fact brought out is that the early French of Saint Louis displayed considerable more temperance and care in their diet than was usual on many Anglo-American frontiers. This was obviously not because they were niggardly with themselves but because they were by temperament not addicted to excesses, and took excellent care of themselves, physically. "Their religion—one of abstinence and self-sacrifice—had considerable to do with conditioning such an attitude."<sup>49</sup>

Most observers credited the Creoles of Saint Louis as possessing good health, due to diet. Said Stoddard, "They experience a good degree of health, which results in a great measure from the nature of their food (mostly of the vegetable kind) and their manner of dressing it."<sup>50</sup>

The cost of living in this part of the Illinois was not much different than in other parts. Brackenridge pointed that out in 1814: "The price of marketing does not differ much from the towns of the western country; everything appears to be approximating to the same standard. . . . Upon the whole provisions are no higher than in the towns of the Ohio."<sup>51</sup>

Brackenridge also regretted that under "democracy" luxury increased in a remarkable way when compared with life under the previous "despotism."<sup>52</sup>

From the constantly recurring advertisements in the *Missouri Gazette* which feature the names of business firms over the whole of the Mississippi watershed, for example, Cape Girardeau, Sainte Genevieve, Louisville, Harrison, Indiana, and Pittsburgh, it is plain to be seen that before the steamboat became a factor on the upper Mississippi, intersectional trade was very well developed and well understood.

The Spanish land system permitted the accumulation of private fortunes, which in turn permitted the capitalization of trade and commerce. What the commerce-encouraging Spanish land-tenure system began, the American purchase completed, and Saint Louis, speaking of material things, was "Americanized" within fifteen years from the Louisiana purchase. More than

<sup>48</sup> See the author's "Material Customs in the Territory of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIX (April, 1936), 5-41, for an account of an Anglo-American frontier which differed greatly in this respect, under almost identical climatic and geological conditions.

<sup>49</sup> Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 325.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>51</sup> Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 123-124.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 139-140.

"Americanized," we know already that it took the commercial lead of the whole Mississippi Valley and maintained it until railroads doomed river shipping. It is common to mention Saint Louis as a sleepy, sunny, indolent village which did not come to life until the American purchase. That concept is false, as we know from the town's immediate assumption of commercial supremacy once political trade barriers with the trans-Allegheny country were demolished by the Purchase. The only explanation for such economic dominance as Saint Louis later had, as shown by a study of its provisioning, is that, far from being a crude, inactive collection of wilderness huts, Saint Louis was a mid-continent center of industry, commerce, and traffic when the first white men were settling in the Old Northwest, and when the sea-board colonists were casting off the yoke of British mercantilism.

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## DOCUMENTS

### James Bouchard, S. J., French-Delaware Indian

The Reverend James Bouchard of the Society of Jesus was, according to his own account, born in the Delaware village of Muskagola, situated in some undefined locality in the Indian Territory. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at Florissant, Missouri, July 29, 1848, and died in San Francisco, California, December 27, 1889. His father was a Delaware chief, Kistalwa by name, and his mother, Marie Bouchard, was born of French immigrant parents. His Indian name was Wa-tom-i-ka or Swift-footed, which his Jesuit associates rendered into Latin by *Celeripes*. He had the Indian's native gift of eloquence and in California, where the last twenty-eight years of his life were spent, he became distinguished as probably the outstanding pulpit-orator of the Pacific Coast. Father Bouchard's conversion from Presbyterianism to Catholicism was occasioned by a visit to the Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier in St. Louis, where he was deeply impressed by what he saw and heard, the sequel being many days of soul questioning which culminated in his decision to become a Catholic and eventually a Jesuit priest.

The Bouchard letters and autobiography which follow are reproduced from autograph copies in the archives of the North Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus, where they appear to have been deposited by the Indian missionary, Father Peter De Smet, S. J. The autobiography is the basis of a sketch of Father Bouchard and his parents contributed by De Smet to the *Précis Historiques* (Brussels, VI, 1857, 84-90) and later included by him in translation in his *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1859, 218-231). Relations between De Smet and Bouchard were most sympathetic, and it was apparently at the instance of the former that the Jesuit of mixed Indian stock compiled the story of his life. The extracts from Bouchard's correspondence here reproduced will be of interest as revealing the depth of feeling he was moved to by the melancholy fortunes of his Delaware kinsmen.

As a preliminary to the Bouchard letters and autobiography

there is below an extract from a memorandum by Father Florentine Boudreaux, S. J., author of two classics in devotional literature, *God Our Father* and *The Happiness of Heaven*. Undated and unaddressed, this was written in all probability shortly after Father Bouchard's death in 1889. Boudreaux left New York July 22, 1861, on the steamer *Champion* for San Francisco via Panamá in company with Bouchard and another Jesuit father, Young by name. Boudreaux had been assigned to teach chemistry and Young, English literature in St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, while Bouchard was to be employed in the ministry in the Jesuit parish of that city. It was the beginning of his twenty-eight years of residence on the Pacific Coast. The Boudreaux memorandum is in the archives of the North Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus.

## I

## THE BOUDREAUX MEMORANDUM

I can say of him (Father Bouchard) that he was a good religious. He was always tidy and had a horror of slovenliness. He was gentle and genteel—very much of a gentleman in all his ways, and, when in good spirits, he was very sociable and interesting in his conversation.

But he was not always in a pleasant frame of mind. He had one peculiarity of character which made him suffer many martyrdoms and made it exceedingly difficult for his superiors to manage him. Whether it was owing to his Indian blood or dyspepsia, from which he suffered much, or from both, he was of a gloomy disposition. He would get the "Blues" of the bluest kind and spend hours and days brooding over his misfortunes either real or imaginary. It was generally on the conduct of Superiors and others towards him. Not only that but he had the faculty of looking on the dark side of everything. He would isolate himself from everybody and get himself into an agony of mental suffering. During these spells he was so melancholy and forbidding that few, if any, cared to approach him either to converse with him or to offer him consolation. His superiors were compelled to move him from place to place. He could never remain long in any one place. He was very zealous and did a great deal of good wherever he went, but his unfortunate disposition, I presume, always got him into trouble and made it necessary to remove him. These things went on until he made up his mind to leave the Society

and become a secular priest. He was dissuaded from this rash step by one of our Fathers and induced to go to Frederick [Md.] to make his 3rd year [of novitiate]. The long retreat, as he afterwards wrote, confirmed him in his vocation and he firmly resolved to live and die a Jesuit.

This feature of his character was not a sin or a fault or, if it was a fault, it was a "felix culpa," for it was on this account that he was sent to California, the field of his glory.

It was in this place [San Francisco] and under such circumstances that Father Bouchard made his appearance. He was an orator. He had studied oratory with a view of becoming a "preacher." He certainly was a powerful and fascinating speaker. His language was choice and beautiful and that too without any visible effort on his part to make it so. His lively faith, for which he was remarkable, made him unspeakably earnest and effective. He went straight to the hearts of poor sinners and made them return to God and many Protestants placed themselves under instruction and were baptized.

He had not preached more than three times when the little church [in San Francisco] became so packed that many after fruitless attempts to enter were compelled to return home. Not only was the church overcrowded and entirely too small, but the number of scholars also increased so rapidly that the little college [St. Ignatius] soon became too small. . . . Father Bouchard soon filled this new hall by his preaching. The new college also increased and multiplied until the boys numbered from 4 to 500 when I left in 1863. Thus the coming of Father Bouchard to San Francisco makes a new and glorious era in the California Mission for there was no end to the good he did by preaching, hearing confessions, missions, sodalities, etc. There was immense good done by the other fathers also who helped to hear the many he drew to the confessional.

## II

(Extract from a letter of J. Bouchard to P. De Smet, Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, July 1, 1857.)

"I paid two visits to my Delaware friends since my arrival in this city—the second visit only a short time ago. This time I spent some days with them—which I passed very agreeably in visiting my relations—My old uncle, Capt. Ket-chum, received me with open arms—he was quite sick when I arrived at his



house but he was so overjoyed at seeing me as to quite forget his illness. He had a world of news to tell me—some good, some bad—and a world of business to be attended to for the tribe, which he was anxious to entrust to me as if he expected me to succeed him in the chieftainship.—But owing to my Rule I declined undertaking any secular business, even for my dearest friends; though I must say I did it with regret; for I would gladly be the first to call U. S. to an account for his connivance at the violation of the late treaty with the Delawares—for the unpaid for reservation ceded to the Government some 50 years ago (in Ohio)—and for the unjust appropriation of Delaware funds by wicked and selfish agents and a host of other things.—My friends are all anxious to have me reside permanently among them—they have even expressed a desire to have me preach to them;—but in this I should no doubt be much opposed by the heretical missionaries, of whom there are no less than four different sects, viz. Moravians, Baptists, Methodist-South and North & their particular adherents. When I think of their conversion to our holy religion, of which they are entirely ignorant, a dark cloud rises before my eyes—not the faintest gleam of hope penetrates my heart—I can weep and mourn over the ruin of a beloved people—a people who deserved a better fate; but what better fate could be expected from an infidel government—an avaricious nation, whose only God is the Almighty dollar, whose only shrine of devotion, the territories of the weak and defenseless—Oh! my heart saddens, sickens when I look at the future of my people, wronged, persecuted and crushed by the bloody hand of a so-called *Liberal Government*.

Watomika, S. J."

## II

(Extract from undated letter of J. Bouchard addressed to P. De Smet from Chicago, where the writer was discharging the duties of assistant pastor in the Holy Family parish of that city. Date 1857 or 1858, more probably the former, as reference is apparently made to the great depression of that year.)

"Times are hard in this city [Chicago]—money frightfully scarce—thousands of poor men who depend on their daily labor for a subsistence are walking the streets with their hands in their pockets, unable to procure any kind of work either for love or money.

"I have received very sad news from Kansas since I last

wrote to you. A crowd of white men such as ought to have been hung long ago made a descent upon the present small reserve of the Delawares—struck their stakes & declared themselves possessors of the soil. One even had the daring to go to my uncle's house and declare his farm (one of the finest in Kansas) to be his claim.

"You can scarcely imagine, dear Father, what were my feelings on receiving this intelligence. Had my neck been under the haughty footsteps of the proud American Libertine [?], I could not have felt worse. But for the sacred enclosure of religion, the hallow dignity of the Priesthood and the soothing influence of a living and inspiring Faith, I should have proceeded at once to repel the unprincipled aggressors, even at the expense of my heart's best blood. 'O tempora! O mores!' Write soon. Pray for your ever devoted

Watomika."

### III

(Extract of letter from J. Bouchard, undated and unaddressed. The book on the Indians referred to has not been identified. For an account of the Delaware trust lands on which the city of Leavenworth was laid out in violation of a treaty with the Delaware tribe preserving them from preemption, cf. Andreas (ed.), *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), 421. Squatters on the trust lands were eventually allowed to purchase their claims at a price fixed by the government.)

"Dear Sir—I regret that I have not had the opportunity of reading your work on Indian affairs; for I am sure from what I have learned through a very creditable source, it is just such a work as one would write who loves justice and is actuated by the noble sentiments of charity and mercy for the oppressed, condemned and injured red man—it tells most plainly the thoughts and feelings of every Indian heart; it umbosoms his silent anguish, it counts his burning tears, it portrays, in terms most true & touching, some of the many grievous wrongs which the almost helpless son of the forest is obliged to endure at the powerful hand of the heartless and ever-grasping Anglo-Saxon race. In confirmation of what I say I need only remind you of the wholesale robbery perpetrated upon the poor Delaware Indians by the authority of U. S.—, in the sale of those lands which they had by solemn treaty confided to his care to be sold for their benefit. But how did U. S. observe this treaty? By al-

lowing a promiscuous throng of bold adventurers to squat all over those beautiful prairies and by prohibiting free bidding on the day of sale! O justice, how little art thou known by this proud, boasting nation! Such is the sentiment of a poor wandering Delaware.

Watomika."

### III

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF WA-TOM-I-KA

Watomika, the subject of this biographical sketch, was born at the village of Muskagola,<sup>1</sup> in the Delaware reserve, a portion of the Indian territory. His father, called Kistalwa, or One who walks the Mountain path, was the grandson of Hobokon,<sup>2</sup> or tobacco pipe, a distinguished war-chief of the Delaware Tribe;<sup>3</sup> and also cousin of the magnanimous Ketchum, now the principal chief and immediate successor of Kistalwa, who, during the last fifteen years of his life, exercised the functions of principal chief and who on more than one occasion proved by his deeds of undaunted courage, both in the chase and on the battle field, that he was worthy of the high position which he occupied as well

<sup>1</sup> A Jesuit domestic catalogue gives the birthplace of Father Bouchard as St. James (parish of St. James?), Louisiana. Cf. *Lettere Edificante Torinese* (April, 1893), pp. 253-260. (Best account of Bouchard in print.) Muskagola does not occur in the list of Delaware towns in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (art. "Delaware"). That any Delaware were settled in Kansas as early as 1823, the date of Bouchard's birth, is problematical. His own statement gives no indication as to the location of the "Delaware reserve" in which he was born. In Jesuit catalogues the name is given variously as Beshor (1849-1862), Buchard (1863-1886), Bouchard (1887-1890). Vivier in his standard Jesuit necrology, *Nomina patrum ac fratrum* etc. (Paris, 1897), p. 506, suggests Boucheur as the correct form.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the "Hobocan" whose mark was affixed to the Treaty of Fort M'Intosh, January 21, 1785 between Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa Indians and the federal government. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), II, 6.

<sup>3</sup> The Lenape or Leni-lenápe ("real men," "native genuine men") were called Delaware by the English from their principal river and Loupe or Wolves, by the French. They were settled about 1770 in what is now southern Indiana, part of them going thence in 1789 to Missouri and later to Arkansas and eastern Texas, in which latter habitat they numbered at least 700. A reservation in what is now eastern Kansas was acquired by them in 1829 and on this reservation most of the tribe had been gathered by 1835. They were moved thence in 1867 to the Indian territory and incorporated with the Cherokee Nation. F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1912), art. "Delaware." The Delaware reservation of Kansas ran sixty miles east and west (Kansas River) and twenty-five north and south (Missouri River). For an account of the Texan Delaware, cf. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1900), 143 et seq.

as an honor to the long line of renowned chiefs and warriors from whom he was descended.<sup>4</sup>

Brought up in the lap of paganism, Kistalwa was not only ignorant of the Christian religion, but also a bitter enemy of it and of all who made profession of it.

The mother of Watomika was of French extraction. Her parents, according to her statement, came from Auvergne, one of the interior Departments of France, and settled on the grassy banks of the Rio Frio, a branch of the river Nueces, in Texas, which then belonged to Mexico.

It was here, in the very heart of the wide green prairies, the pasture fields of innumerable wild cattle and horses and the hunting grounds of the not less untamed Comanche Indians, that Marie Elizabeth, the mother of Watomika, first saw the light. She had an only brother, called Louis, who was born in France, and was three years older than she.

Days, months, and even years bore their balmy breezes over the lonely cottage of the daring Frenchman, as he was called. His only neighbors were the Indians, who seemed very friendly, and who came from time to time loaded with furs and provisions for their palefaced friend, and received in return such articles as best suited their wants and fancy. The little family so peaceful and happy among their Indian brethren, so secure from the wild storms of political commotion which ever and anon convulsed and laid waste the fairest portions of their native country, their dear France, the home of their hearts, dreamed only of smiling faces, sunny days, and long years of quiet. But alas! How vain are the dreams of life, how deceitful the visions of fancy! At a time when danger was least expected, the Indians were aroused to a maniac madness by the massacre of a small hunting party that had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards on the banks of the Rio Grande.

<sup>4</sup> Various Ketchems or Ketchums occur as signatories to Delaware treaties, e. g., John and James Ketchem (March 6, 1854) and "Captain" Ketchum (treaties at St. Mary's, Ohio, October 3, 1818 and Castor Hill, now St. Louis, October 26, 1832, Kappler, II, 170, 370). James Ketchum, a Delaware convert to Methodism and a clergyman, was among the four "councillors" signing the Delaware Treaty of July 4, 1866 (Kappler, II, 937). The three Delaware chiefs named in this treaty are John Connor, head chief, Captain Sarcoxie and Charles Journeycake. Of the four councillors only James Ketchum signed his name; the rest affixed marks. The "magnanimous" Ketchum mentioned by Father Bouchard was probably dead at the date of the above-mentioned treaty, 1866. A description of "Chief" Ketchum's home as it appeared in 1860, when he was still alive, is in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, XII (1911-1912), 188.



Determined on revenge, numerous bands of Comanche warriors scoured the plains and forests, breathing out destruction to the white man and thirsting to imbrue their hands in his heart's blood. In their demoniac rage, they forgot the many favors and kind treatment of the homeless and honest French family, who had resided several years without reproach in their midst. They proceeded under cover of night to the Frenchman's cottage, and, while the unsuspecting and defenseless inmates were wrapt in quiet slumber, surrounded it, and with one unanimous shout of the fatal war cry, rushed forward, broke open the door, and, before the panic-stricken family could recover from the sudden shock, seized father, mother, and children, and led them forth a short distance from the house to be the unhappy spectators of its destruction by fire with all which the Indians could not conveniently carry away: but this was only the beginning of their troubles. They were now hurried away in a northwestern direction to the village of the Great Chief of the Comanches, where they were received amid the deafening yells of the savages, who were eager to satiate their cruelty in the blood of their helpless victims. The chief soon gratified their murderous wishes by delivering the Frenchman and his devoted spouse to the furious multitude to be roasted to death over a slow fire at the same stake and at the same time. The two children, Louis and Marie Elizabeth, were spared on account of their tender age, the former being at the time about 10 and the latter 7 years old; but they were obliged to witness the cruel and inhuman death of their affectionate parents without being allowed to utter a word in their behalf or for their consolation. They wept indeed when they heard the groans of their tortured father, and the heart-rending shrieks of their agonizing and dying mother, and would gladly have run and cast themselves into the flames at their feet had they not been held back by their captors.

Soon after this appalling tragedy, the bereaved children were subjected to another trial, which now seemed not less cruel and painful than the one through which they had just passed. They were separated! Separated to meet no more! The Great Chief, whose only son had but a short time before fallen in battle, received Louis into his wigwam and adopted him as his son and successor, who, if still alive, is perhaps now wandering with his red brethren over the grassy plains of Texas or California.

Marie Elizabeth was borne off towards the northern limits of Texas by a Comanche brave, who adopted her into his family



and treated her as his daughter. She remained in this family some six years, when she accompanied her Indian parents to a French trading post on the upper Red river. They met here a party of Delaware Indians, among whom was the youthful and heroic Kistalwa, son of Buckongahela. The two parties soon exchanged the ordinary compliments, which gave rise to a friendly intercourse that continued during their sojourn at that station. The bewitching beauty and engaging manners of Marie Elizabeth attracted the attention of all, but especially of Kistalwa, who became so enamored of her that he could not rest until he had obtained an interview with her and secured her consent to accompany him to his father's lodge, on the condition that her parents would agree thereunto. He, therefore, hastened to propose the affair to them, but they sternly rejected the proposal and positively refused to treat on the subject; they even strove to prevent any further intercourse between Kistalwa and Marie Elizabeth. The young chief, in no wise discouraged by harsh repulses, urged his suit with such determination as to excite some degree of alarm in the bosom of the parents for their own safety; hence, after some deliberation, they complied with the young Delaware's request, and received, in ratification of the agreement as well as in token of gratitude, two horses and several pounds of tobacco.

Nothing now remained but to receive the dearest object of his affections; but this was not to be realized in a moment. Marie Elizabeth was much attached to her Comanche father and mother and could not leave them without a desperate interior struggle and floods of loving tears. Embracing them, however, she bade them a last adieu and departed with her betrothed and his company, who conducted her in triumph to her own country, where she was received with every mark of attention and kindness into the family of Buckongahela, and was called, on account of her delicate form and fair complexion, Monotawan, or White Fawn.

About two years after her arrival here, she was formally married to Kistalwa according to the rights and ceremonies peculiar to this tribe, which are as follows. The young man declares his intention of marrying a certain person, to his parents, if living, or, if not, to his nearest relations, who fix the day of marriage. He then takes his gun and ammunition and proceeds to the forests, where he spends three days in hunting. If he succeeds well, it is regarded as a sign of many happy and prosper-

ous years in the married state, but if he succeeds badly, it is viewed in a contrary light, and his friends not infrequently postpone the marriage. On his return from the chase, he bears the choicest of the game to the lodge of his betrothed, places it at the entrance and departs without uttering a word to anyone. If the parents or friends of the girl accept the present, it is received as a proof that there exists no objection, and the parties immediately prepare for the marriage; the couple to be married by painting and decorating their persons with their finest paints and richest and most gaudy ornaments, the medicine men by an offering of tobacco to the Great Spirit in order to propitiate his favor in behalf of the young couple, and by the offering of a beaver skin in grateful acknowledgment for his benefits; the friends of the parties by preparing together a great feast, at which the young man and girl are presented to each other by persons appointed for the purpose, who give to each a beaver skin which they exchange, and thus ratify the marriage, which is followed by feasting, singing, and dancing, and thus ends the marriage scene.

Monotawan became the mother of two children. Both were boys; the elder was called Chiwendota or Black Wolf, the younger Watomika or Swift Foot.

Watomika was the idol of his parents. From his earliest childhood he was the object of their tenderest caresses. As soon as he was capable of receiving instructions, his mother began to inculcate on his youthful mind ideas of the grandeur, power, and goodness of the Great Spirit, to impress upon his heart a profound reverence and love to so Great a Being: hence, while yet a small boy, he was often seen to gather around him his little associates, and to relate to them, what he had learned from his mother, with so much gravity and earnestness, that not only were his young auditors filled with wonder and admiration, but even the aged, who chanced sometimes to hear him. She taught him to respect the medicine men, and all aged persons, to assist the poor and distressed, to be kind and generous to his friends, to hate the enemies of his nation, to leave no injury unrevenged, to regard the religion of the pale-faces as an invention for deceiving and destroying the red men, and for taking away their best lands. He was early taught the use of the bow, the tomahawk and scalping knife, of which he became very fond, and in the exercise of which quite expert; but his favorite exercises, and which afforded him most amusement, were those of riding,

running footraces, in which he generally outstripped his competitors, and performing on the rope, an exercise in which he excelled, and by which he often drew forth from those who witnessed his performances, loud and boisterous applause. He also, at an early age, exhibited a strong passion for the chase, and his father, wishing to encourage this, took him along, on several occasions, to the hunting grounds, in order to see the hunters pursue the buffalo and other game.

When Watomika was about nine years old [c. 1832], his father sent him with the autumnal hunting party, entrusting him in a special manner to the care of Whapakong or Two Bears, the boy's uncle and a favorite, who was the leader of the party. Watomika was too young to battle alone with a buffalo or grizzly bear, yet was he often seen at his uncle's side, flying on their well-trained horses over the vast prairies in pursuit of the frantic buffalo, or cautiously following the grizzly bear to his rocky den. On one occasion Watomika accompanied his uncle, Whapakong, and two others, into the rocky fastnesses of the Wind river mountains, in pursuit of a huge panther that had attacked and killed one of their horses.<sup>5</sup> After a rapid chase, from the dawn of day to mid-day, on horseback, they descried the fierce monster standing on a rock projecting from the mountain's side, some 200 or more feet above them. Whapakong succeeded with some difficulty in reaching the height above the panther, while the others kept watch below, and then making a simultaneous attack, they soon dispatched their prey. Whapakong, wishing to spend a few days amid these mountains, concluded to send Watomika back to the camp. On the following morning, therefore, he described the course to his little nephew, placed him on his pony, and bade him depart, but not without silently commending him to the care of the Great Spirit. The youthful adventurer set out alone on his perilous journey; but he had not proceeded far before he unconsciously strayed from the proper course, and wandered through the forest and along the mountain's rocky sides, till the sun went down behind the mountain and left him shrouded in darkness between two steep rocky walls, a deep nar-

<sup>5</sup> The Wind River Mountains in present Wyoming form part of the Rocky Mountain continental divide. "Parties of from 10 to 25 [Delaware] frequently make excursions into the country near the Rocky Mountains in search of beaver and often make a rich return, amounting sometimes to upwards of \$1000 to a single individual." Richard W. Cummins, Delaware agent, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1838).

row defile, with but a single ray of hope that he should see the light of another day. This faint hope was sufficient, however, to inspire him with a determination not to spend the night in that place, and although it was quite dark, yet he would not abandon his purpose of climbing to the top of the mountain, whence he hoped to discover some way leading to the prairies on which his party was encamped; therefore, leaving his pony, which it was impossible to ride up the rugged and precipitous mountains, to follow as well as it could, he began the long and arduous ascent on foot. When he had accomplished half the distance of his steep and tiresome journey, his strength failed him and he sank fainting to the ground. Recovering a little, he began to debate with himself, whether he should remain where he was till morning or proceed onward. After a few moments deliberation and a short rest, he resolved to make another effort to gain the summit. He accordingly renewed his tedious ascent, proceeding slowly and warily, conscious of the risk he ran of being devoured by the wolves which were howling around him, or by some other voracious animal. His faithful pony seemed to realize the condition and to understand the thoughts of his youthful master, for he remained constantly near him, as if to protect him, and would often smell him, as if to ascertain whether all was right. He arrived at the top of the mountain about midnight, where he at first thought of spending the remainder of the night; but finding it too cold to remain in the same position long enough to obtain any rest, he mounted his pony, which seemed no less anxious to proceed, and hastened down the opposite side of the mountain through a long, narrow defile, regardless of the danger to which he was often exposed of being precipitated hundreds of feet down the perpendicular cliffs along the brink of which his wary pony was obliged to creep, as it were. He succeeded, however, in making the gloomy and perilous descent without accident. Day was beginning to dawn when he issued from this narrow passage; but the opening day was not more welcome to his heart than the prairie, which spread out its wide, smooth surface before his astonished gaze. He now stood erect on the back of his pony in order to make some observations, but he saw nothing save the outspread prairie on the one hand, and the uprising mountain on the other. He then directed his course to where the mountain threw out a considerable spur on the prairie, and reached that point when the sun was beginning to show his golden disk above the eastern horizon. A distant grove now greeted his longing



eyes, and seemed to invite him to its shades, to which he immediately directed his course and which he soon recognized as the one in which his party was encamped. He could not now restrain his joy, which, in spite of him, burst forth in shouts that brought the hunters out of the grove all armed as if they expected to be attacked by a foe. But they could not have been more surprised at the approach of an enemy than they were at seeing Watomika returning alone and at so early an hour. Impatient to know the cause, they ran to meet him, and in a moment he was surrounded by his friends, who immediately began to interrogate him as to the cause of his coming under such circumstances. He answered that he returned by order of Whapakong; but when he had reached the camp and obtained some refreshment, he gave them a full account of his romantic but perilous adventure. When Whapakong returned from his expedition and heard of his nephew's adventure, he bestowed on him a necklace made of the bear's claws, which is considered a mark of honor by the Indians. At the close of the hunting season, the party returned home, where they found all in a state of excitement, and Kistalwa at the head of a band of the noblest and bravest warriors that ever bent a bow or brandished a tomahawk, on the point of marching into the country of the Sioux in order to revenge the cruel torture and death of a Delaware brave, who had been captured a short time before by a party of hostile Sioux.\* The return of the hunters caused Kistalwa to postpone his march till the following day, for he wished to secure the company, counsel and bravery of his brother [?], Whapakong, whose name alone, to say nothing of his invincible courage and tact on the battlefield, was enough to strike terror into the ranks of his enemies.

On the eve of the departure of the war party, Watomika sought an occasion to beg permission of his father to accompany him in this warlike expedition. His father, smiling, answered he was too young; but the youthful hero was not to be satisfied by a smile. He urged his request with so much earnestness and energy as to elicit the attention and admiration of his father, who, now fixing his eyes upon his son, asked him if he were not afraid the Sioux would take his scalp? Taking his father by the hand, he replied, "*If my father be a coward, then am I also a coward.*" This was enough, his father consented. Watomika in a transport of joy ran to communicate the news to his mother, who

\* Agent Cummins in his report for 1845 says that three years before some Delaware Indians had been killed by Sioux.



heard it with very different feelings; for throwing her arms about his neck, she pressed him to her throbbing bosom and gave way to sobs and tears. Kistalwa now entering the lodge found his beloved spouse overwhelmed with grief, and knowing the cause of her sorrow, he endeavored to impart consolation to her broken heart by assuring her that Watomika should be protected from all harm, and furthermore, that he would soon return, not only with her son, but crowned with victory and loaded with the scalps and spoils of his enemies. She clung, notwithstanding, to her cherished son, and refused to let him go, entreating and begging, at the same time, the chief that he would not deprive her of her only comfort; but she begged in vain, for Kistalwa's purpose was fixed.

Early the next morning, Monotawan sought her son, who was already with his father at the head of the warriors, and embracing him she exclaimed: "Oh Watomika, kichitwa Watomika, matta neen wankunnet namen!" "Oh, Watomika, dear Watomika, I shall never see thee again!" She then placed her hands on his head and commended him to the care of the Great Spirit: this was her last blessing, her parting adieu, after which she turned away, bathed in tears, and hastened back to her lodge, whilst Kistalwa at the head of his braves departed for the country of the Sioux. Their course lay toward the northwest, which they pursued with the utmost caution and vigilance, both in order to avoid discovery and to be able to observe the first traces of the enemy. No signs, however, were perceived until they arrived at the mouth of the south branch of the Nebraska or Platte river. The party reached this point late in the evening, and spent the night in profound silence and without fire amid a clump of trees. Early the next morning Kistalwa sent out a reconnoitering party to find out, if possible, the hiding-place of the enemy, whose footprints were now visible on the sandy shore of the river. The party returned about mid-day, having espied the encampment of a band of Sioux, and which they had succeeded in approaching unobserved so near as to be able to ascertain that the number of the enemy was nearly double that of their own. The enemy being encamped several miles above, on the opposite side of the river, Kistalwa quietly crossed with his party, after night-fall, to the opposite shore, and there waited the still midnight hour in order to lead his impatient warriors against the unsuspecting foe.

That memorable night was calm and delightful; the half-

full moon, moving in queenly grandeur above the fleecy clouds, shed her mellow light over the grassy bosom of the prairie and rendered objects distinguishable at a considerable distance. When the appointed time arrived, they set out. Their march was slow, their step soft, and with eagle eye they scrutinized every object that darkened the plain before them. Thus onward, and still onward they moved, the fearless Kistalwa and his son all the while at the head, till at length the camp of the devoted Sioux was descried on a small peninsula formed by the winding course of the river. It was evidently thronged, for the shadows of figures standing erect, as if on guard, darkened the ample sweep around the camp. Suddenly a voice was heard in the camp, shrill and hoarse; cries and shouts of approval from the excited crowd rang fearfully into the still ear of night. There was a fascination about the place that made even the brave Delawares pause. A small light glared dim and ghastly upon the crowd that filled the interior of the camp. In a few moments, however, the Delawares were again in motion; but scarcely had they secured their position for attack, when they were thrilled by a piercing, protracted shriek, which was immediately followed by another voice, loud, harsh, and awful. It had a certain rude and prolonged vehemence that indicated great physical strength, and seemed like the despairing cry of a wild beast rather than a human voice.

Kistalwa now directed the eyes of his braves toward the point of attack. Instantly the vindictive war-cry, charged thick with death, broke like peals of thunder upon the ears of the excited foe. A strange confusion now ensued. The enemy, at first seized with consternation, seemed spell-bound; but the fatal spell was soon broken, for beginning to appreciate their condition, they made a tumultuous rush upon the Delawares. Now began a conflict, which, though short, defies the power of language to describe.

Watomika, S. J.

Dear Father: I will send you the rest of this narrative as soon as I can. Please pray for your unworthy servant in Corde Jesu.

Rev. P. J. DeSmet.

J. M. C. Beshor, S. J.

The clash of arms, the shouts of men engaged in deadly contest, was most appalling. Amid this scene of horror and confusion might be seen the brave Kistalwa, moving in calm dignity from place to place and delivering his orders in tones of thunder, which, while they electrified his own devoted braves, struck ter-

ror into the hearts of the enemy. At his side might also be seen Watomika, who, though wounded in one leg, was too much taken up by the scene around him to think of himself. Kistalwa, at last, fell mortally wounded. His ever-devoted son, seeing him fall, sprang to his assistance. Just at this juncture, a favourable movement of the contending parties enabled him to rescue his father and place him quite out of danger. The brave Delawares, no longer hearing the inspiring voice of their chief, knew that he had fallen, but so far from being confused or discouraged by the sad event, they only became more desperate, and rushed upon the enemy with the frenzy of maniacs. A passage was now opened through the dense mass of the enemy, who now began to fall back, to scatter, and, finally, to fly in wild confusion, leaving thirty killed and wounded on the battle ground, while the killed and wounded on the part of the Delawares was only half that number. The Delawares having dispatched their wounded enemies and taken the scalps, set out, early the next morning, towards home taking along with them their wounded, among whom was the dying Kistalwa, borne on his horse by the famous Whapakong, now leader of the victorious braves.

A messenger was sent forward on the last day's march to announce the coming of the party, their victory, the number slain on the side of the enemy, the number of their own slain and wounded and whom [*sic*] they were. The news spread like fire driven by the wind and in a few hours not less than 400 men, women, and children, among whom were the weeping and disconsolate Monotawan and Chiwendota, went forth to meet their victorious, but afflicted braves. A short march brought them in sight of their approaching friends, which was immediately made known by loud and prolonged shouts, which rolled like the cannon's deafening roar over the level surface of the prairie till they fell upon the ear of the war party, who returned the salute with shouts equally loud and prolonged.

Kistalwa survived only a few hours after the arrival of the party at the village. After his decease, according to the custom, persons were chosen to mourn with the bereaved family, not only during the interval from his death to his interment, but until some one of the family of the deceased should dream of seeing him in the Land of Life. Watomika was the first who was favored with such a dream, which happened to him about three weeks after the burial of his father. This put an end to the howls and lamentations which the mourners had continued daily during

the three weeks around the tomb of the departed chief.

Having mentioned the custom of selecting mourners for the dead, it will be proper to record a tradition which the Delawares hold concerning the origin of this custom. They say that when the first death occurred in the tribe they were ignorant of its real nature, and supposed that the man, who lay a lifeless corpse before them, had only fallen into a profound sleep; hence, they wrapt him up in his panchâ—a covering made of the skin of an animal—and laid him in his wigwam. The sun had already gone down to the spirit land, the shades of night had overspread the village, and the inhabitants were beginning to retire to rest, when suddenly loud piercing howls and lamentations were heard in the tops of the trees which spread their branches over the wigwam in which they had placed their friend. All seized with consternation rushed forth into the open space which formed the centre of the village. There they stood, not knowing what to say or to do. The strange noise still continued, even growing more louder and more frightful. The chief Pow-Wow or conjuror now addressed the multitude; he said, "The Great Spirit was angry and was, no doubt, about to send some great evil upon them." He ordered the people to return quietly to their respective lodges and remain there, while he should consult in solitude the Great Spirit and ascertain the cause of his anger and the means of appeasing the same. The mysterious noise was soon after hushed and the silence of death reigned in the village. The next morning, just as the sun was peering above a mountain of black, threatening clouds, the Pow-Wow came into the open space above named and summoned the people together. A few moments, and he saw himself surrounded by a large crowd of men, women, and children, all anxious to hear from his lips the words which the Great Spirit had put into his mouth. He now told them that he had invoked the Great Spirit and that the Great Spirit had sent a little bird, white as the driven snow, from the flowery groves of the Land of Life, which whispered softly into his ear the startling truths that he was about to reveal. He then pointed to the wigwam in which their brother lay and told the people that he, whom they had placed there the evening before, slept not, as they supposed, but was dead, that the cause of that unusual noise, which had so frightened them, was the howling of the leni-pi-a-kon, or spirit of the man, because his body was left unadorned and unburied, and because there were none who mourned for him; finally, that his spirit could not be admitted



into the Land of Life, unless the body was gaily painted and dressed in the best clothes, and mourners were appointed, who should deplore the death of their brother, both before and after the interment of the body, until they should be informed of the arrival of his spirit in the Land of Life. Such is their tradition respecting the origin of mourners for the dead.

The next Spring Whapakong taking Watomika visited a trading post on the Upper Missouri for the purpose of procuring ammunition. He met there a war chief of the Sioux tribe, with whom he carefully avoided all intercourse; but the semi-barbarous whites, who were aware of the deadly enmity existing between the Delaware and Sioux, gave them copious draughts of the accursed fire-water, and when both became so much intoxicated as to be unable to restrain passion, they urged them to a fatal combat. In a short time, the combatants fell literally covered with wounds. Here a white man, not yet entirely dead to the better feelings of humanity, interfered, and separated the parties. Watomika, taking his uncle by the hand, assisted him to arise, and led him, faint and staggering from the loss of blood, to an adjacent grove, where he lay down on a bed of leaves and grass, which his nephew had collected in a pile. Watomika sat down beside him and watched with intensest interest every motion of his lips, every change of his countenance, the wild vacant stare of his fixed eyes; and when night spread her dark mantle over them, and he could no longer distinguish the eyes nor the features of his uncle, he bowed his head and listened with deepest emotions to his deep expiring groans and to his slow and difficult breathing. Overcome, at last, by fatigue and hunger, he lay down and unwillingly fell asleep. Soon waking, however, he sprang up and called Whapakong; but receiving no answer, he repeated the call; still all was silent. Now the sad thought came, like a dagger to his soul, that his dear and much loved uncle was no more. Slowly and tremblingly he approached the dark corse, as it lay stretched on its leafy bed, and stooping he grasped the hand, once so mighty in battle, but now cold and stiff in death. Watomika spent the remainder of the night in melancholy reflections on his situation. He thought of his home, of his mother and brother, and of the vast prairies which separated him from them. His heart sickened at the idea of being alone and among a band of white men whom he had reason to regard rather as enemies than as friends. Impelled by hunger, he went early the next morning to procure some provisions from



the whites, who, seeing him alone and sad, inquired for the wounded brave, and having learned that he was dead, they went and buried him in the same place that he had expired. Alone and sorrowful Watomika wandered about the place during the day, and at night-fall returned to spend the night beside the grave of his uncle; but he was soon discovered by the same man, who had separated his uncle and the Sioux, and [was] induced [by] him to go and spend the night with him. He told the disconsolate boy that he would set out in a few days for St. Louis, and would take him down to Ft. Leavenworth, from which place he could easily return home.

Watomika met at the Fort a band of his people, whom he joined, and, after the lapse of a few days accompanied to his home, where he gave occasion, by the narration of his uncle's tragic death, to universal lamentation, which was continued till one of the tribe saw in a dream the spirit of Whapakong enter into the Land of Life.

This custom of mourning the death of an absent friend had its origin, according to tradition, in the following circumstances: While the nation was still in its infancy, three brothers, grandsons of the first Delaware, Ha-wan-je-ta, the One Horn, Ni-ka-no-chee, the Roaring Thunder, Ta-wah-ke-nah, the Mountain of Rocks, went, by order of their grandfather, Kum-Ska-Ka, the Panther that flies in the air, in search of the resting place of the Wee-ma-nah-ka, the Sun. After an absence of two summers, one of them, Ta-wah-ke-nah, returned disappointed and sad; disappointed, for not having found the object of his search, and sad, for the loss of his two brothers, who had left him to go in pursuit of game and returned no more, nor could he, after many weeks search, find any traces of them. This news spread sorrow and gloom over the whole tribe. The relations of the lost brothers consulted the Pow-wows concerning the fate of their unfortunate friends: but even the sage conjurors were unable to give a satisfactory answer respecting their mysterious end. The whole tribe was at length convened, and each one was called upon to state his opinion about this strange event, and to propose such means, as he thought most practicable, for ascertaining with certainty the fate of their friends. It was finally decided that a party should be sent in quest of them, and that Ta-wah-ke-nah should be their leader. But, the night before their departure, Ta-wah-ke-nah was informed in a dream, of the melancholly fate of his brethren, and likewise saw their spirits enter into the Land of

Life. The next morning he related his dream, which put an end to the proposed expedition; and the morning also ended by the following chant:

O neh Nadio yoh ge o noh net geh  
 Ne kwh no gueh, des he swa eh sa o n'yo  
 No oh nwh, ne kwh No a wok, ne kwh ne  
 Ot wais hi in, ne woh kwh ne dint gont.

The purport of which is: 1° An expression of grief; 2° of joy; 3° a promise to visit them one day in their new home.

Such is the tradition respecting the origin of the custom of mourning for those who have lost their life away from home.

A few weeks after Watomika's return home, the tribe was visited by a protestant minister, whose object was to establish a mission there; he left, however, in the beginning of Autumn, taking with him Watomika and two others whom he (Mr. Williamson, for that was the minister's name) left at Marietta College, Ohio, for the purpose of being instructed both in the human sciences and Christianity (for Watomika and his companions were still pagans).<sup>7</sup>

You can readily imagine what were the thoughts and feelings of Watomika, in finding himself far from his native wilds, from his friends, and especially his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached, left among strangers whom he had ever been taught to suspect and hate, and above all, in entering upon a career so new, so different, from what he had been accustomed to. Yet the All-wise Providence, whose plastic hand forms and rules the heart, as well as the whole world, so changed, in a short time, the views and feelings of Watomika that when his two companions returned home, he rejected their earnest entreaties to accompany them, saying that he would first learn the Great Medicine of the white man (meaning his religion). These items, together with what I have told you on a former occasion respecting the conversion of Watomika and the austerities which he practised; his one only desire to serve God to the best of his ability, his promotion to the ministry in the Presbyterian Church and your knowledge of the time and manner of his *conversion to Catholicity*, his reception as a novice of the Society of Jesus, his long sickness from which he was miraculously re-

<sup>7</sup> According to Bouchard's account it would appear that his father died about 1832 and his departure for Marietta College occurred approximately in 1833.

stored, his admission to the simple vows of a scholastic soon after, and, finally, his promotion to the sublime and holy state of the priesthood; these items, I say, together with your knowledge of this portion of the life of Watomika, will suffice to enable you to conclude the strange Biography of *one*, who has generously, though not without a long and fearfully contested battle with the three great enemies of the soul, sacrificed all that was near and dear to his heart, in order to follow J. [Jesus] C. [Christ] in His holy Society. His only desire now is to live and die in the same Society at the place and in the occupation which the Will of God may assign him.

Yours devotedly in life and death,  
Watomika.

Pray for me, my dear Father in Xto [Christo].

W.

## Notes and Comment

### HISTORIES OF COLLEGES

Since the appearance of the several volumes comprising The Tercentennial History of Harvard College laudable efforts are being made by various universities and colleges to bring out their past or to add chapters to what has already been written about their origins and developments. Appearing almost simultaneously with the above-mentioned was the history of *Louisiana State University, 1860-1896*, by Walter L. Fleming. This book, revealing the influence of the University upon the State of Louisiana, gives much of the social, political, economic, and military background of an important unit of the Southland. *A History of Emory University* by Henry M. Bullock, grew out of an earlier doctoral dissertation, while the religious motives of the Methodists of Georgia gave rise to the founding of the University. Other less pretentious booklets and articles might well be mentioned in connection with college origins. Earnest Elmo Calkins, an alumnus of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, wrote some articles on the history of his Alma Mater in the middle nineties of the last century. Recently his pen returned to the same theme, and, going on the advertising principle that the name sells rather than the book, produced a history of Knox College under the title *They Broke the Prairie* (Scribners, 1937). The subtitle explains the purpose of the book as "Being some account of the settlement of the upper Mississippi Valley by religious and educational pioneers, told in terms of one city, Galesburg, and of one college, Knox." The narrative is genial, informal, and despite its diffusiveness, informative. The volume undoubtedly received a warm welcome from those attending the Knox College-Galesburg Centennial celebration that concluded June 16 of this year.

### WPA AIDS HISTORIANS

*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July, 1937, opens with "A New Source of Information for Historians," by James Monaghan. To quote: "A new source of material for historians has been made available by the Works Progress Administration program in Illinois. A great quantity of material heretofore unknown, has been unearthed by the project in Chicago designed to study the contributions of the foreign language groups to the culture of the city. In addition to collecting data from interviews with old residents, the project has listed over eight hundred foreign language periodicals published in twenty different languages in the city since 1871,—a gold mine of source material practically untouched by research students." The remainder of the paper gives a complete survey of the sponsors, organization, and work, which when completed will be indexed in some fifty volumes. Toward the end of the same number will be found an account of "The Historical Records Survey in Illinois," which was inaugurated in 1936 and is, like the Chicago program, a WPA project directed by capable historians and librarians.

Annual reports supplemented by occasional bulletins and circulars are issued regularly from the Archives of the United States. Complete informa-

tion is given concerning the progress taking place in the magnificent institution at Washington. Recent word has it that a guide to the materials in the federal archives is in preparation. Besides the deputy examiners engaged in surveying the quantities of documentary materials, numerous WPA workers are looking over the records outside the District of Columbia. Comment has been made before in this section on the elaborate program and upon the progress of the work in various sections of the United States. It is clear that the benefits derived from organizing, tabulating, and classifying archival materials for the use of research in the future will be exceedingly great. Moreover, hundreds of workers have found and are finding an interest in historical records and are centers for the propagation of an archive consciousness. Dusty and unkempt depositories of materials are in a way of being tidied up against the advent of searchers of materials. Custodians of materials in church, city, county, state, and other archives are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility as preservers of records. Without doubt, considerable of the materials being surveyed and tabulated will be of relatively small value, and enthusiasm will cause an overestimate of the worth of some of the materials, but scholars and librarians are at hand for the purpose of winnowing the wheat from the chaff. Hope is entertained that national resources will permit a continuation of the labor of collecting all sources for historical writing.

#### SLAVERY, SIN, AND THE CIVIL WAR

*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 15, 1936, has an article by George I. Rockwood, entitled "George Barrell Cheever, Protagonist of Abolition." The thesis maintained is the same as that expounded in the book by the same author, *Cheever, Lincoln, and the Causes of the Civil War* (Worcester, 1936, 83 pages). The first part of the thesis is a review of the moral aspects of slavery. The growth of the feeling in the Northern states that it was a sin to engage in the practice of enslavement of Africans is traced. The feeling of moral guilt, or, as the author terms it, religious emotionalism on the part of the Northerners, was "the underlying factor in the causes of the Civil War." The sin of slavery, or the feeling of sinfulness about the institution, produced the emancipation policy of Abraham Lincoln. When at length the degree of righteous religious indignation had been pushed to a boiling point by the abolitionists of the North, the sins of themselves and their fathers were visited upon the heads of the Southerners in the form of war, even though, it might be added, the people of the South were unconvinced of their sinfulness in the matter.

Who of all the anti-slavery leaders contributed most to the spread of a "holy scorn" of slavery and to the election of Lincoln, and who of all people enabled him to extirpate slavery from our Continent? Primarily, the Puritans. "The backbone of the country was stiffened and the issue made by men who were not politicians." Puritan ideals of democracy, Evangelical Christianity, and some Unitarianism were the leaven for the political activities. And George Barrell Cheever, trained in Puritan ways, noted preacher and writer in and out of New York, was one important leader who took up cudgels against the "national and reigning sins," inaugurated a pulpit revolution, and crystalized opinion in the North with Beecher, Garrison, Whittier, and Stowe, to such an extent, according to Mr. Rockwood, that:



"The plain people of the North, responding, fought through to the end, only incidentally to save the Union. . . . They died to win . . . because of their conviction that slavery was a diabolical sin and should be abolished."

Such a thesis is vast in potentialities for argument and high feelings, narrow in its approach and outlook, and ill-advised if it is to be followed to its logical conclusions. If the dictums are true, the thesis is hard on all concerned. It is discrediting to Cheever and his group who propagandized for war, a war which was sinful to the eyes of the South. Certainly it discredits Lincoln whose election is attributed to a minority of fanatics and whose purpose in emancipation becomes highly distorted by the introduction of the puritanical motif. Surely, just as many suffered and died in the War because they deemed slavery justifiable as died because they thought it sinful. Besides who was to decide on sin and guilt? And so on go the arguments. Theses of this type should indeed be mulled over and carefully defined before publication.

#### VARIOUS

*The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1937, appears as a full-sized volume of 322 pages and contains thirteen items in its table of contents. Much of the editing of documents falls to the lot of Dr. Walter Prichard, whose industry in the matter of publication is amply aided by the advisory board of editors and by officers and members of the Louisiana Historical Society. The first of the items is a survey address, "The Romance of Research in Louisiana History," by Dr. Prichard. Among the other articles is "A Man of God and a Servant of Humanity: The Reverend Marie Arthur Guillaume Le Mercier Du Quesnay," a biographical eulogy, by André Lafargue. The subject of this sketch, whose likeness appears from one of the pages, was the Jamaican priest who was rector of the St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans from 1855 until 1858, the date of his death at the age of fifty years. Frequently, most amusing incidents occur at solemn ecclesiastical functions, and similarly among the lines of sober historical writing. Thus we find under the picture of Abbé du Quesnay the statement that he "was the first cannon of the city, ranking next to the Archbishop, the Most Reverend Antoine Blanc." Lest this simple remark about a proof-reader's oversight be misconstrued, MID-AMERICA takes itself to task for overlooking the following line in its last number (p. 230): ". . . the Archbishop whom Willa Cather has immortalized in her novel."

The Literary Academy of La Plata in its official organ *Estudios* (Buenos Aires) presented an extraordinary number in July as a tribute to the Second International Congress of History of America. This number of the magazine is a volume of 267 pages. The twelve articles are indicative of the great possibilities for historical research in the republics of the south. The titles of some of the articles may be mentioned in English: "The Origins of the Drama in the Regions of Río de la Plata" traces the theatrical progress from the plays in the Jesuit reductions; "Architecture in the Missions"; "The Jesuits and Medicine on the Río de la Plata"; "History of Argentinian Medicine"; "Some Historians and Publicists of the Missions of Paraguay." These and other items set off by some excellent illustrations make the volume, the fifty-seventh of *Estudios*, a worthwhile commemoration of a notable historical congress.

*The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, July, 1937, has "The First Jesuit Mission to the Flathead, 1840-1850: A Study in Culture Conflicts," by Claude Schaeffer. This study is part of the wide acculturation study being undertaken in the interests of anthropology and ethnology, and it pertains to the Flathead Reservation and the mission established there during the ten years indicated. The survey of the rise and decline of the mission is sympathetic. The Jesuits attempted to modify the Indian form of life and to impress upon the natives a European culture. They failed. Settlers from the East and Government agents boxed the Indians in reservations and attacked the Indian customs, or culture, from various angles, and succeeded in completely disorganizing the Red Man in his habits and institutions.

*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, published in Rome, concludes its sixth volume (1937) with a continuation of the bibliography of writings pertaining to the history of the Jesuits and appearing in the year 1935. Some 225 works are listed and divided under suitable headings. The compiler of this bibliography is Edmond Lamalle, S. J. There is an announcement of the coming publication by the same scholar of a *Guide Bibliographique de l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*. This is to be a critical guide with more ample comments than are contained in the previous compilations and with supplementary materials gathered over the years arranged in their proper place. The address for further information is Borgo S. Spirito 5, Roma (113).

The America Press, New York, recently published a booklet in forty-eight pages entitled *Marquette*, by Gilbert J. Garraghan. In a smoothly flowing style, interspersed with letters and excerpts of documents, Father Garraghan surveys the life and achievement of the Jesuit missionary-explorer.

*The Canadian Historical Review*, June, 1937, published in its document section "An Interview on Canada with La Salle in 1678." M. Dodard, physician, scientist, and humanist, interviewed La Salle regarding the natives, the flora, and fauna of New France, and then wrote his Memoir. This is presented in the original French by Mme Puech-Milhau with editorial assistance from several Canadian scholars, while the accompanying translation into English is done by Professor F. C. A. Jeanneret. Among the notes and comments in the same number is found a descriptive list of Canadian historical societies. This is followed by the usual valuable bibliography of "Recent Publications Relating to Canada."

Coming from Canada in two sections, the English and the French, is the *Report 1935-1936* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. All told, there are nine articles on a variety of subjects, and these are an indication that the Canadian Catholic society is fulfilling well its purpose of promoting interest in the history of Canada.

One hundred years ago the Archdiocese of Dubuque, Iowa, was established. The centennial year is to be observed from July, 1937, to July, 1938. A Centennial Committee is sponsoring the compilation and publication of a history of the Archdiocese, under the editorship of Reverend M. M. Hoffman.

*Chronological History of St. Augustine's Church, Chicago, 1879-1936*, (311 pages), was published by the Franciscan Herald Press and distributed

in commemoration of the golden jubilee of the parish foundation. This souvenir volume, amply illustrated, is compiled by an anonymous hand principally from the typewritten chronicle of the church activities by Father Leo Kalmer, O. F. M. Apparently other chronicles and materials served as bases for the work. The famous and extensive old parish beyond the Stock Yards had its first church finished in 1879 by Father Fischer of the diocesan clergy. In 1885 the Franciscan Fathers from St. Peter's Church were acting as pastors, and in the following year St. Augustine's was turned over to their administration. The *Chronological History* gives sketches of the lives of various pastors, the activities of the parish, the parochial development, anecdotes, and accounts of the more important persons and events.

## Book Reviews

*The American State University, Its Relation to Democracy.* By Norman Foerster. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937. pp. 287. \$2.50.

This is an important book, and one not easy to discuss properly in the brief space of a review. As a study of the American State University, it is both historical and critical. It considers the State university system as a mirror of the changing civilization of the United States, it probes the defects of the universities, and it offers a suggestion as to how the defects may be remedied. As history, it is much more than factual; it is an analysis of the temper of mind and the educational aims which have made the State University what it now is. As an evaluation of the State University, it has much in common with the adverse criticisms of our higher schools made by such men as Irving Babbitt, John Burnet, Flexner, Hutchins, and even Ortega y Gasset; but it is fair to say that Dr. Foerster's book is more searching than most of these studies, that it goes more deeply into the causes of the present confusion and aimlessness in what passes amongst us as higher education.

The general thesis of the book may be put something like this: the American State University had its small beginnings in a period when certain fairly common elements of the Protestant religions and some remnants of the humanist tradition still had real influence upon the thought and purpose of our people; the University had its enormous growth when the majority of our people were rapidly abandoning both religion and the humanist tradition and were developing a very crass sort of neo-paganism; it became confused in its aims, and drifted into a tangle of unrelated specialties, complacent in its sheer bulk of buildings, faculties, and students, indiscriminate in its courses of studies, of low intellectual level because it sought quantity rather than quality; it can never become a valuable instrument of education until it comes back to the ideals of humanism as its guide.

Although Dr. Foerster is concerned here with the State university, he intimates in his introduction that these same defects are to be found in other universities of the United States. Babbitt, Flexner, and Hutchins have also made that point clear. There is some value in these honest criticisms; but so long as they are confined to fault-finding, their value is not very great. The chief significance and importance of Dr. Foerster's book lies in the positive suggestion of a remedy, which is woven all through various chapters, but is specifically discussed in the last three chapters, considerably more than one-third of the book. He does not offer a definite plan for improving the universities. Instead he expounds, with great charm and beauty of treatment, an ideal which he hopes may lead to the definite plan. The ideal is that for which its modern proponents have revived the Renaissance name of Humanism.

It is as appealing an ideal today as it was during the fifteenth century Renaissance; but it is as weak today as it was then. In that century men turned back in thought and aspiration to the pagan civilizations of Greece



and Rome, and saw the excellences of those civilizations enlarged and glamored through the mists of time. Some of the men of the Renaissance failed to appreciate that what was pathetically admirable in a pagan before Christ becomes tragically futile in a pagan after Christ. Once, through nearly four centuries of the Middle Ages, the Western world had both religion and a high spiritual culture. One part of the Renaissance movement split that heritage; the Protestant Revolt tore it asunder; a later materialistic civilization threw away both of the fragments; now the Humanists call us back to the loveliness of one-half of our heritage, the shorn spiritual culture, and tell us that when we shall have recovered that we shall be whole and sound again. Whosoever can believe that, has a faith immensely greater than that of any Christian, a faith in man surpassing all faith in God.

The task set by Humanism is the most difficult that can possibly be set before men: that, without religion, without even a philosophy, they should be enamored of moral and intellectual eminence; that, without grace, without supernatural motives, they should make hard and persistent efforts to attain the maximum development of their capacities as complete human beings. Dr. Foerster, like other modern Humanists, knows a good deal about the frailty of human nature; in details, he is a realist. He is aware of the hopelessness of trying to educate the uneducable, and of the difficulty of getting even the educable to work hard enough to educate themselves. But his large view is a blurred view.

He sees the futility of naturalism, but he shrinks from the supernatural. He points his readers vaguely to some middle ground between Christianity and paganism, an eclectic assemblage of beliefs and practices from each. He wants discipline without authority, truth without revelation, virtue without sanction, ascetic restraints without ascetic principles. Because he is an intelligent man, he has no patience with the naturalistic perfectionists, the men whose first principle is that we can all lift ourselves by our own bootstraps; yet all the hopes held out in his last three chapters are only another form of naturalistic perfectionism. The best he can offer is the assurance that, in some inevitable process of change, a large body of influential specialists will break the barriers of their specialties and widen the bounds of education to the Humanist limits; that somehow, by the powers of the specialists themselves, their narrowness and selfishness will be overcome, to the greater glory of a Humanism that the specialists now despise.

Rousseau at his worst was no more sanguine than that. One feels that it is sentimentally fine for Dr. Foerster to end his book on a note of hope. But this reviewer entertains a suspicion that the hopefulness sounds a good deal like whistling in the dark. Humanism alone is a broken reed. Dr. Foerster rightly scorns Scientism. But between Scientism and the Humanism that eschews Christianity, the differences are mostly on the surface. Humanism has more charm than Scientism; but although it is a finer clay, it is of the same earth.

W. KANE

*Public Funds for Church and Private Schools.* By Rev. Richard J. Gabel. Washington, The Catholic University of America, 1937. pp. xiv+858.

A quantitative analysis of this doctoral dissertation indicates that Father Gabel picked a subject that entailed a tremendous amount of delving into books and records for material. There are 779 pages of text, and half of this space, roughly speaking, is devoted to footnotes in smaller type. One of the footnotes (p. 267) runs over four and a quarter pages. The bibliography goes from page 783 to page 837, fifty-four pages. The quite suitable index is of twenty pages. In view of the copious amount of authoritative citation and bulk of the work, it is clear that no critic, much less the present reviewer, is apt to take it apart for a qualitative analysis.

The purpose of the work was "to trace the history of public aid for private schools and for religious education from colonial days to the present time, and to present some of the causes that have brought about the reversal of the original American policy." Twenty-five chapters divided into six sections are made out of the facts gathered in the achievement of the purpose. After an introductory series of definitions and survey of the contribution of non-state schools to American education, the body of the book is fashioned from the aid given in colonial Massachusetts, state by state and period by period, down to the present time. The conclusion is that the pioneer American school in each section of our land was the private school founded with religious motives. Later the religious motive for education weakened, and after the Civil War public and secularized education began. Gradually, state after state adopted legislation against aid for private schools amid numerous controversies, and the non-sectarian school came into dominance, and, incidentally got education entangled with politics. The problem of religion in education arose and is still with us unsolved. Father Gabel has hung thousands of facts around these general headings, and even though he has not presented a best-seller, he has done a very notable work. It is only to be expected that in amassing such an amount of data some mistakes should get into the text because of a dependence upon secondary sources and the impossibility of going over each source and item in a highly critical manner. However, it is well that this book is written.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

*Golden Jubilee Book of Monsignor Edward J. Blackwell: with a Sketch of St. Thomas Aquinas Parish, Milwaukee.* By Peter Leo Johnson, D. D. Milwaukee, 1937.

Nothing is more striking in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States than the processes by which its parochial units have been built up. The growth of the Church in this great area of the Lord's vineyard has been admittedly a phenomenal one and the story of that growth can be followed on a minor scale in the development of its parishes, especially those of our metropolitan centers. Parishes are indeed the vital unit of which the entire structure of organized American Catholicism is integrated; hence, the interest that attaches to the history of almost any one of them. In the attractive volume here noticed the well-equipped author has traced around the figure of its distinguished founder, Msgr. Edward J. Blackwell, the evolution of a typical urban parish from pioneer beginnings to ripe

maturity. The volume will have its interest not only as a chapter in the history of the great archdiocese of Milwaukee, but as an instructive exhibit of the art by which successful parish-making has been carried on.

GILBERT GARRAGHAN

*The Winnebago-Horicon Basin: a Type Study in Western History.* (Wisconsin Domesday Book: General Studies, Volume IV.) By Joseph Schaefer. Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1937. pp. x+349.

Taking their name from William the Conqueror's historic survey of the English land-tenures of his day, the Wisconsin Domesday books, of which the present volume is the fourth to be issued, envisage an analytical and interpretative study, by groups of counties, of the economic, industrial, and, to a certain extent, social development of the Badger State. There is, therefore, no real parallel between the eleventh-century record and its Wisconsin counterparts, which are immensely more than a mere factual or statistical exhibit of conditions at a given date or period.

The author in an enlightening foreword points out that the study he has attempted strikes a middle course between the breadth and inclusiveness, with resulting vagueness, of the more or less general history and the narrowness and localism, with what follows therefrom, the aloofness from broad historical movements, of the monograph. The economic and social forces here shown at work are not unlike those at work in other areas of the United States and the results attained have as a consequence more than merely local or regional significance; hence, the subtitle which the volume carries, *A Type Study in Western History*. The area under study comprises four Wisconsin counties, Calumet, Winnebago, Fond du Lac, and Dodge, which represent substantially the watersheds of Lake Winnebago and the upper Rock River, the latter featured by an extensive marsh once known as Horicon lake. The source-material used was mainly land, geological and soil surveys by government or state, land and office records, but above all "the manuscript census of individuals, of farms and of industry." With abundant records of such sorts to draw upon, it became possible to trace, sometimes statistically, sometimes on broader lines, such interesting and instructive phenomena as the comparative results of farming in the open-land and forested areas, the decline of wheat-growing and the rise of factory dairying, the supplanting to a surprising extent of the native American by foreigners and their descendants, the percentage of marriages between the American-born and the foreign-born, with all the major alien stocks figuring individually in the statistics.

By 1904 Fond du Lac County was producing almost no wheat, once the staple of her farming; her wealth was now in creameries and cheese factories. "Fond du Lac County produced [1904] as many dollars worth of wheat (34,979) as she had cows, but her cows produced, on the average, in the form of dairy products, the sum of \$55!" (p. 226). Social facts arrived at are as significant as the economic ones. Burnett, a Wisconsin town settled originally by Yankees, was still "a Yankee stronghold" as late as 1870. By 1905 "40 per cent of the family heads were German-born and more than 35 per cent Wisconsin-born of German parents, the two groups of that racial stock making up 75 per cent of the total" (p. 231).

To the reviewer's mind one of the most important aspects of Dr. Schaefer's penetrating study is the suggestion it conveys of similar studies in other areas of the United States. The surface of economic and social history of this type has been barely scratched, if indeed it has been touched at all outside the Wisconsin Domesday books. Records of the sort put under contribution in the compilation of these notable works must surely be available in more or less measure in other states. Wherever found, they are a challenge to the specializing historian, always eager for the opportunity to work in virgin soil.

GILBERT GARRAGHAN

*Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763.* (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XXVII, French Series, Vol. II.) Edited with Introduction and Notes by Theodore C. Pease. Springfield, Illinois, 1936. pp. clxxi+609.

The high standard achieved by the late Clarence W. Alvord in the publication of documents sponsored by the Illinois Historical Survey is being sustained by his successor, Dr. T. C. Pease. This volume contains the documents dealing with the sequence of diplomatic negotiations by which the rivalry of France and England for the possession of the Mississippi Valley reached a solution. The documents deal also with the rupture of the diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1755, the war that followed, and the making of the Peace of Paris. The introduction, a book in itself, enables the student, under the guidance of Dr. Pease, to follow the tortuous path of the diplomats, who failed to realize that the Mississippi Valley was a unit and that the partitioning of it was a mistake, happily corrected forty years later by Jefferson. Besides making use of the materials printed in this volume for his introduction, the editor has supported his statements with documents taken from other dépôts, and has identified the *dramatis personae* in footnotes or in the text with a happy characterization. In the diplomatic negotiations, maps played an important part. Dr. Pease has called the attention to the fact that the cumulative force of this argument is much weaker than is sometimes made to appear, for map makers were satisfied with copying the maps of their predecessors. The editor also points out the worthlessness of the French claims based on the alleged discovery of the Ohio by La Salle. If exploration means possession, then the English had an undoubted right to the Ohio and Tennessee valleys. They certainly sighted the first before the French, and explored the second—the French themselves virtually admitting it—before their rivals. It would be impertinent to criticize the editorial policy adopted—in the interests of economy—of printing superior abbreviations down to the line. Yet, when reading the French text such groups of words as "Sa Mté Brite," "le Roy d'Ange," or "le Roy d'Espe," are at first sight startling. There is a desideratum which this reviewer has long wished to see realized, when documents as in this volume are published. It is the custom to indicate by a line of dots the parts of the document which are omitted and which contain matters irrelevant to the subject which the collection is aiming at illustrating. This procedure is so generally followed that the desideratum is diffidently suggested. It might help those who use the document if the contents of the



parts omitted were indicated briefly, as in a calendar. The documents are divided into sixteen chapters, with their exact references to the archival depôts from which they were taken, and are carefully translated. There is an excellent index.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

*The West in American History.* By Dan Elbert Clark. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company. pp. xi+682.

This work of Professor Clark, of the University of Oregon, is the latest and probably the best account of the American movement across the continent. The book is fine reading and it is sound history. Many other good studies of this matter have appeared in the past decade, improving the pioneer work of Theodore Roosevelt and showing the profound influence of Turner on historical thought in this country. The present effort embodies most recent findings that fill out that great story. It is marked too by a thoroughness not found in its predecessors.

The book is an admirable example of the worth of historical research—a matter often in question among undergraduates. Here one sees that the digging of specialists has really produced a filling in of gaps and a connecting of loose ends of our national story; and the volume will give impetus to many a student with an eye to understanding and opening up more of that story. There are few footnotes, as this is meant for collateral reading among collegians. Quotations used are from standard works in particular fields. Most of the book is built on a well-accepted account. But its reading will require a close knowledge of geography and local detail and will bring one into touch with every important sector of research now under study in our centers of scholarship.

A delightful surprise herein is the 163 pages devoted to the times before 1783. Those were the days that laid the basis of our national character and gave direction to the activity of our people. They explain why the westward movement was so unique a fact in universal history, for it accomplished its results almost entirely by the labors and dreams of individuals and families rather than the paternalistic supervision of a sponsoring government. Those days too laid the ground of internationalism that underlies our story and makes it kin with that of all America. The reader comes to 1783 with a full view of the field ahead wherein the United States grows to manhood by marching to the Pacific slope.

In view of this balance and aim of the work, it seems strange to read in the preface that the Spanish and French "left no significant, permanent impress upon American development." Some will lift questioning eyebrows at this opinion, though undoubtedly the author restricts his meaning very much in the assertion to strictly political organization. The rest of life on the borderlands and in the expanding west was deeply marked by the contacts and institutions left there by agents of non-British factors.

The period after 1783 has been done so often that it is hard to rewrite it with freshness. Yet Professor Clark shows the fruit of his long teaching and study in the mature construction of these chapters, particularly those on State-making which evince a marked depth as well as unity of thought. A fine universality of sympathy is patent wherever partisan feeling about

race or creed might dictate eulogy or silence. The format is good, the bibliographies for chapters and the index are adequate. The book is stimulating and truly illuminates our national story.

W. EUGENE SHIELDS

*The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier (1854-1885)*. By Sister M. Aquinata Martin, O. P., Ph. D. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1937.

When one lays down this most recent study of Catholic life on the American frontier it is with a feeling of almost personal achievement, so vividly have the struggles of the pioneer, the railroad builder, and especially the priest been portrayed.

The author's many years of service in the State whose story she tells have given her a peculiar fitness for the work she has so effectively accomplished. With sympathy and understanding, and with a fund of information that has been derived from many and varied sources, she leads us through the several phases of Nebraska history that began with the opening up of the territory to settlement in 1854 and ended in 1885 with fully organized Catholic as well as political and economic life: thirty years filled with civil strife that in such troublous times was inevitable, and with the more absorbing and equally inevitable frontiers—man's battle with depression resulting from the panics of 1857 and 1873, and with his own special ogres of isolation, unfavorable prices, scarcity of timber, public sale of half-improved land, drought, blizzards, floods, chinch bugs and grasshoppers, that threatened to block his every step towards economic independence.

Against this agitated background moves the priest, distinct from and yet so surely a part of it all, traveling over the prairies, saying Mass in cabins and dug-outs, in tents and sod houses, encouraging, counselling, bringing the Sacraments to his scattered flock. We are made conscious of the magnitude of the task that confronted him and the indomitable courage and seemingly untiring energy with which he met it. Each of these wandering missionaries, as he appears, presents a clearly sketched individuality, though all are alike in their devoted pursuit of souls hungering for their ministrations or in danger of being lost in a new and difficult environment.

We see grand old Father De Smet offering the Holy Sacrifice for Indians and army officers, and eager young Father Emonds extending his labors from Council Bluffs to the west bank of the Missouri; ever-hopeful, enterprising Father Treacy leading his Irish families from Garryowen to Nebraska and thereafter spending himself as much for the other Catholics along the Missouri as for his own colonists, and quiet, patient, persevering Benedictines from Kansas going wherever there was need of service; Bishop Miege who with milk cart and mules traveled hundreds of miles through his vast Vicariate and Father Erlach who heard confessions in English, German, French, Italian, Bohemian, and Dutch; genial, restless Father Kelly, the proto-priest of Nebraska, and affable Bishop O'Gorman, the Trappist of the silver tongue; huge Father Ryan of the Union Pacific with his strong-arm methods and gentle Father Hartig, who was still young after more than forty-five years in the mission fields.

Each man was a host in himself, trying to accomplish the impossible and well-nigh doing it, until Bishop O'Connor was able to bring in Jesuits and Franciscans to take over the care of German, Bohemian, and Polish groups that had drifted into the state. When the story comes to an end we are amazed to find that within three decades the Catholic Church on the Nebraska frontier had developed vigorous life as a distinct diocese, with a well-trained band of secular priests and ten religious orders of men and women serving its people, with churches and schools, hospitals, a university and a Cathedral standing where so short a time before the Indian had hunted and the buffalo roamed.

Too much credit cannot be given to Monsignor Guilday of the Catholic University for his insistence of the importance of such studies and particularly for his directing those who come under his guidance into fields of research that yield such illuminating surveys as is this treatise on early Nebraska.

SISTER EVANGELA HENTHORNE

*Bulwark of the Republic, a Biography of the Constitution.* By Burton J. Hendrick. Little, Brown and Company, 1937. pp. xxviii+467.

No subject in the present year should command such attention in this country as that of the Constitution, whose 150th anniversary is being universally celebrated. Together with the Supreme Court, very aptly called "the living voice of the Constitution," it has already occupied the center of the stage for the past five years. A vast amount of technical literature has been written on these subjects throughout our history, but the recent book of Burton J. Hendrick has been the object of many encomiums and has won high esteem among discerning book lovers. The author is possessed of an interesting and compelling style. The reader is carried along through our entire constitutional history at a speed that this reviewer hardly imagined possible in view of the difficulty he has had in 'lumbering' through some of our standard textbooks on American constitutional history. The book comes very close to that little gem of the late James M. Beck on the origin of the Constitution in which he discusses in his own unique style the history of the framing of the Constitution. Hendrick has mastered the trick of making his subject palatable for his reader. This is not an easy task in the field of constitutional and legal history. Undoubtedly, the method of presenting the subject through the medium of biography is one of the easiest and the best. Nothing could be better calculated to arouse and inspire the interest of the sluggish and disinterested student. So it is with this timely treatise on our Constitution and its history down to the present day.

The method, however, is certainly not without its drawbacks. The author of the *Bulwark of the Republic* has unfortunately not escaped some pitfalls. In some respects his treatment of the subject discloses a viewpoint that borders very closely on partisanship. This can hardly be avoided when difficult movements and trends are treated on the basis of character delineations of great leaders who have molded and fashioned, through the course of the years, the "subtle organism" we call the Constitution. Hence the scholar is apt to look elsewhere for a more balanced treatment of this most

intriguing of all present-day popular subjects. Freedom from partiality is not always to be found within the pages of the Hendrick's treatise; one is almost forced to the conclusion, after the volume is laid aside, that the only sincere protectors and saviors of the Constitution were the Federalists and the Whigs. Madison reputed to be "the Father of the Constitution" and Jefferson "the Philosopher of Monticello" suffer some by the over friendly treatment accorded Hamilton and Washington by the author. Many such examples of partiality might be cited.

The latter part of the book is devoted to the Supreme Court, tracing the tremendous influence it has had on our political, economic and social development. He concedes that the candid critic today must stigmatize the record of the judiciary on "social legislation" as the one great respect in which it has failed to keep abreast of progress. Kindly consideration is accorded to the dissenting judges. Neither does he gloss over the fact that the efforts in recent years to establish hours of labor, working conditions for women, employees liability, minimum wages, and other measures for protecting public health and morals and bring to the underdog a large share of the satisfactions and conveniences of life that fate had accorded him, were ruthlessly outlawed under the 14th Amendment. As usual some part of this responsibility falls on the lawyer, but the culpability of the rich corporation and the directors who employ him to accomplish that very purpose is readily overlooked.

Some of the scenes depicted in the book reach high dramatic heights. The reviewer recalls the picture he paints of the conference between the rapidly declining Clay and the 'prematured' Webster on the eve of Webster's great Seventh of March oration. He is less successful in his effort to compare Marshall the conservative and Holmes the liberal. The author seeks to bring their views into substantial agreement, although they not only lived under different economic and social conditions but their philosophies of life were entirely different, if not opposed to one another.

JOHN A. ZVETINA



It is the duty of every citizen to support the government in its efforts to maintain the peace and order of the nation. The government has the right to take such measures as it deems necessary for the preservation of the public safety and the good of the community. It is the responsibility of the citizen to obey the laws of the government and to contribute to the common good. The government is the servant of the people and its actions should be guided by the principles of justice and equity. The citizen has the right to participate in the government and to express his or her views on public matters. It is the duty of the government to listen to the voice of the people and to act in their best interests. The government should be held accountable for its actions and should be subject to the scrutiny of the people. The citizen should be vigilant and should not allow his or her rights to be infringed upon. The government should be a force for good and should strive to improve the lives of all its citizens. The citizen should be a responsible member of the community and should contribute to the well-being of the nation. The government and the citizen are bound together in a common bond of duty and responsibility. It is the duty of both to work for the betterment of the nation and the happiness of its people.

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# MID-AMERICA

## *An Historical Review*

VOLUME 19

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 8

1937

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This is a well-written, up-to-date textbook of pathology, covering the entire field of the subject. It is written in a clear, concise, and readable style, and is well illustrated with numerous excellent photographs and diagrams. The book is divided into two main parts, the first dealing with general pathology and the second with special pathology. The first part covers the following subjects: General Principles of Pathology, Inflammation, Neoplasia, Degeneration, and Death. The second part covers the following subjects: Diseases of the Blood, Diseases of the Heart and Blood Vessels, Diseases of the Lungs, Diseases of the Liver and Biliary System, Diseases of the Kidneys, Diseases of the Urinary System, Diseases of the Endocrine System, Diseases of the Nervous System, and Diseases of the Musculoskeletal System. The book is a valuable addition to the library of every student of medicine and a valuable reference work for the practicing physician.

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